

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE
PALI CANON

PART I

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PART I.

DHAMMAPADA: VERSES ON DHAMMA

AND

KHUDDAKA-PĀṬHA: THE TEXT OF
THE MINOR SAYINGS

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE last of the Five Collections of Nikāyas of the Second or Sutta-Piṭaka in the Pali Canon is called Khuddaka-Nikāya, and of its contents, which are mainly anthologies, the first two are Khuddaka-Pāṭha and Dhammapada. Thus the present volume, in taking the Dhammapada first, inverts the canonical order. The reason for this inversion has nothing to do with the relative antiquity of either of the two works. It was mainly an accident, an after-thought. I had first thought to limit such contribution, as is here offered on the historical evolution of the Sutta-Piṭaka, to a translation, on a new method, of the Dhammapada only. There then arose a prospect of collaborating translators in this section of Piṭaka studies, and it then occurred to me that it might become possible to utilize for this purpose this Series, the administration of which has come into my hands. But to have then reverted to the canonical order would have involved me in a labour of readjustments, without a resulting gain that was worth while.

For it is of no real historical importance to maintain that canonical order. The Buddhist editors of the Sutta-Piṭaka were no more concerned with the *historical* coming into being of this Piṭaka than were, shall we say? the editors of the Synoptic Gospels. They never betray that they were concerned with anything beyond edification and ecclesiastical impressiveness. And when the final arrangement of the Canon in 'books' took place—an event which probably happened at the committing the collections to writing in Ceylon—they will have been dominated by the same object. Hence it may well have come to pass that the shortest collection of all was placed first in this Nikāya (a contrast in procedure to that observed in the First two Nikāyas—viz., 'Long' and 'Medium'), just because that shortest

work contained opening rituals which had come to be of high ecclesiastical importance: the ritual of the Three Sarāṇas, the Ten Sīlas, and the Thirty-two Modes of Body. These three reveal a reason, in a monastic body of growing importance as such, for the priority assigned to the Khuddaka-pāṭha.

Now I am mainly concerned with the historical importance of reconstructing original Buddhism—that is, Sakya, or the gospel of Sakyamuni—as a mission with a New Word *to the Many, to the Man*, and not to the monk as such. And the Dhammapada, for the most part, is a work of lay values. Monastically edited it has been, but the large influence it has ever had over the Hinayāna or Theravāda world of Buddhism lies in its appeal being mainly human, mainly to the Man, lay or monk. In this main concern my object was primarily to point out, so far as might be, where this monastical editing was betrayed. Subsequently it seemed well to round out the volume with a similar work on the Khuddaka-Pāṭha, thus making the book a pioneer to other twin volumes.

If I have chosen this Series, instead of the Translation Series of the Pali Text Society, it is because just the reversed state of things has come to pass which led, in 1909, to the beginning of the latter Series. The way to the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, handed over, after Max-Müller's death, to my husband, was blocked by the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vols. I-III, and so the *Psalms of the Sisters* launched a parallel series. Now it is the way of admission into the Pali Text Series which is blocked—blocked, I hope without delays, by the *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vols. I-V.¹ For the Dialogues financial aid was at hand from a king of Siam. Today there is no such aid, and I must manage as best I can. But there are readers now as there were not then, and I am not unhopeful.

EDITOR.

¹ Mr. F. L. Woodward's translation of the *Anguttara-Nikāya*.

DHAMMAPADA: VERSES ON DHAMMA

INTRODUCTION

NOTHING in the Dhammapada is so hard adequately to translate as is the title. In the compound, *dhamma* is a great word which in Buddhism has come to bear a markedly changed meaning; and *pada* has ever been a word of many meanings. *Dhamma* in its older meaning—it bears in this anthology both meanings—I have rendered by the older form *dharma*. This means the *fact* in us, however we explain it, of a sense of ‘ought to be, become, or do.’ The later meaning of *dhamma* is a referring this ‘Better’ to an external teaching. *Pada* has meanings which we cannot put into any one word: the meaning of a ‘worth’ or ‘thing worthed,’ ‘experience,’ as in *santipadaṇ*, *amatapadaṇ*. It may also mean foot, step, and so a faring, going. Or again, a portion of metric language; a line, or half a line. We have no word equally and coincidently rich. Hence, if I here render the compound Dhammapada by Dharma-verses, it is but a confession of failure, where success is impossible.

I might develop this matter of the title at some length. For it is worthy of note that no two of the many translators have agreed upon an identical translation of it! If I graze over it lightly, this is for two reasons. Firstly, I come late into the field, and what should be said in ripe scholarship about the title has been said by the earliest English translator, Max-Müller, in the introduction to his translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, X (1881). That introduction, as a model in the historical weighing of evidence, is for me both masterly and still valid, after over half a century of research, and I would commend the reading of it to the student of today. Accessible in every library and still in the market, it makes superfluous any further discussion either on the title or on the place of the Dhammapada in the Pali scriptures.

In the second place, the title of a Pali canonical book is never a finger-post to the central message in it. It does not, as is done in the Bible, even give us the name of the compiler, the 'writer,' much less of the original utterer. Either the title gives us some external value of magnitude or of arrangement, or of mode of diction, or of treatment, or refers us in very general terms to a corpus of stories, or to a corporate body of compilers. We have no such illuminative titles as *Pilgrim's Progress*, or *The Imitation*. Moreover, it is fairly clear, and is admitted generally, that the titles of the books are much more recent than either all or much of the contents. The books are in every case microcosmic literatures in themselves. We might go so far as to say that each title might end in '-ana.' In most cases some portions of the book may take us back to the days of the first men of Sakya, or nearly so, while the rest is a collection of accretions, with evidence of much gloss and much editing, of a later date and dates. None of the books, nor any portion of them, has come down to us from the will, the speech, the pen of any one man. The title has come in, late in time, to give unity and convenience in reference to this and that miscellany.

And it is because of this late labelling that I attach no great importance to what the title meant for those who first used it as title. In their day Dhamma meant any worded doctrine sanctioned as orthodox. And *padan* would mean most likely a portion of such Dhamma. Even as early as the writing down of the Sangīti Suttanta¹ of the Dīgha-Nikāya we have the word *dhamma-padāni* (in the plural), meaning just points of doctrine (not metrically worded): 'non-covetousness, non-malice, fit (or right) mindfulness and fit concentration.' So that, if I have called these *pada*'s 'verses,' it is rather because they happen to be 'portions' in verses, than because of any necessary association of *pada* with metrical speech. If I slide over the alleged difficulty of seeing 'verses' in the singular form '*pada*,' it is because

¹ No. XXIII in the 'Fours'; cf. *Anguttara-Nikāya*, ii, 29.

the singular, affixed in a compound, is in Pali frequent enough to warrant our seeing in it a manifold, and not of necessity a single 'portion.'¹

As to my predecessors in this field, I have, or have had by me, nine translations of the Pali Dhammapada: one in Latin, Fausböll's of course; two in German: von Schröder's and Neumann's (not Weber's); and the rest in English: Max-Müller's, Edmunds's, Silachara's, Wagiswara and Saunders's (Wisdom of the East Series), Burlingame's (Harvard Oriental Series), and Woodwards's. Nevertheless I put forward no apology for publishing yet one more. This is not because I add anything that is in any way final—far from it. I make my addition because it is a contribution, not yet made, towards the final translation of some future day, a contribution without which I believe this cannot be achieved. Not that there has been any failure in previous translators in any such attempt, but because no such contribution was within the intention of the translator.

An adequate and relatively final translation it is as yet impossible to make; firstly, because our *apparatus criticus* is, we may fairly assume, not as complete as it may yet become. It has been unexpectedly enriched from 1899 onwards, nor are we warranted in assuming further discovery of MSS. to be impossible. Secondly, because no genuine historical sifting of that progressively decadent series in religious values—the Pali Tipiṭaka—has yet been carried out. In other words, I do not find that writers on these scriptures, and on the Dhammapada in particular, raise the question whether, in the work discussed, we may not discern a change in religious outlook betrayed as proceeding, or as having proceeded, *in the wording and emphases of the recension* which has come into their hands. At present it has sufficed to have heavily shoved the whole Tipiṭaka about, like a solid bookcase, from Ceylon to India and

¹ Cf. *Kumāra-pañhaṇ*,=(group of) questions, *Sikkhāpadaṇ*,=ten *sikkhā*'s, *Dvattisākāraṇ*=thirty-two modes, in the Khuddaka-pāṭha titles.

back to Ceylon. There has, it is true, been a little discriminating in sections, in shelves of the bookcase: one Piṭaka as later; certain whole works as later. But each book has, on the whole, been looked upon as the product of a limited interval of time, during which neither authorities nor compilers in the one cult had varied or were varying in ideas and ideals. Till we have changed all this, till we have made our translation reveal, so far as it can, the evolution in these ideas and ideals as going on during the coming into being of a work so far from being unitary as the Sakyan anthologies obviously are, no final, adequate translation is possible, even were all possible finds in MSS. exhausted.

The estimate of the Pali Dhammapada at present found acceptable is that it presents a 'Blumenlese von Sprüchen,' a florilegium of sayings, *probably* culled by pious monks from their own already compiled collections of sayings, or from outside collections, consonant with their own teachings, or from a common source.¹ With these alternatives I disagree. It is true that, in the Pali Dhammapada, we find verses occurring elsewhere in the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas. In such parallels the Theragāthā comes in an easy first, Sutta-Nipāta and Saṃyutta-Nikāya being neck and neck for second place. But there is nothing to show that these or any of the other works yielding parallels are, as compilations, earlier than the Dhammapada. It is quite possible that any borrowing was from the Dhammapada. Again, it is true that, in the Pali Dhammapada, we find parallels with sayings in leading Brahman and Jaina scriptures. But nothing so dissonant with what is probable will persuade me that the culling of such flowers was a deliberate act of poaching on rival gardens. Sakya took birth when the current religion in Northern India—shall we say the religion of the Established Church?—was at a parting of the ways. I picture it on this wise:—

The central teaching of God-in-man, of God-as-man,

¹ Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 561.

of the oneness of the divine and the human self, in order to be workable, in order to be realizable, was tending to be taught as a process of Becoming rather than of just Being. We have but to read our older Upanishads to see this. The time-spirit was feeling out after religion which made salvation (*amṛta*) attainable through *the life* as well as with the ritual, or even more attainable through the life than through the ritual. The religious essentials in the new ideas on life then coming to the front were (a) the fertile resultants of action (*karma*) and (b) the ethical attitude towards all life negatively conceived in the word not-harm (*ahiṃsā*). These two expressions of the time-spirit had already found embodiment in the Jain movement. Within the élite or teaching world of the Established Church also, there would probably be a section especially alive to this need of making immanent theism—the One Self—practical. But ‘centre’ and ‘right wing’ prevailed against this left wing. By these, the idea of Becoming was depreciated as belonging, not so much to the Divine Self of man, as to matter. In matter all becoming was followed—after stasis—by decay. Only Being was fit attribute of the Divine and Eternal, or Imperishable (*akṣara*). And so the Brahman or ‘Established’ Church, which had the opportunity given it of placing itself at the head of the time-spirit, turned away, true to its kind. And so the Sakyan movement, which sought to reform and strengthen, was gradually compelled to dissent from, and to oppose. With this dissent and divergence, distinctive dogmas would emerge. And all subsequent utterances to which fixed form was given, in metre or in prose, would hang on these dogmas.

Hence, whereas in the first half-century of the life of the Sakyan movement it would be a likely thing, that its utterances would repeat and uphold sayings from, or consonant with, teachings of the Brahman or Established Church, any such sayings would *certainly be rejected later*, to what extent those sayings embodied its central teaching. For instance, sayings about secular matters, appealing to the Indian, earlier or later, might

be uttered in Upanishads and be echoed later in Suttas. Thus, the self-complacent teacher compared to 'the blind leading the blind,' which is found in both of these scriptures, is a trope that might occur to the religious teacher in any church at any age.

But sayings, on the other hand, which express doctrines contrary to those emphasized in the Pīṭakas cannot surely be considered as culled from other cults in the days of organized Buddhist cult, a cult which was strenuously maintaining its growing position among those other cults. Take the verses of the *Atta-vagga* (XII), or such a verse so redolent of Upanishadic teaching as 380:

Yea, 'tis the Self is warder of the self,
yea, and the Self the Bourn is of the self
(cf. *Bṛhad. Up.*, 4. 3, 32; *Katha*, 3, 11; 6, 10, etc.);

such are unlikely in the highest degree to have been heard later with approval and to have been annexed by the Sangha; nay, they are equally unlikely to have been taught in Sakya later than the very lifetime of the Sakyamuni himself and his co-workers, who, be it remembered, were mainly Brahmans, and as such familiar with such a religious attitude: men such as Sāriputta, Koṭṭhita, Kaccāna, and several others. It is too often forgotten that, of the score or so of men associated with Gotama's early missionizing, all save a few Sakyan kshatriyas from his home and Kappina are expressly called Brahmans, and further, that these Brahmans are never represented as attacking the Established teaching. Too often is it also forgotten that, in the wise words of Edmund Holmes, 'the antecedent improbability of a great teacher breaking away from the highest and deepest thought of his nation and his age is very great. The great teacher is always a reformer as well as an innovator; and to reform is to go back to an ideal which had been forgotten or otherwise obscured.'¹

¹ *The Creed of Buddha*, 1919, p. 133.

Now the Brahman ideal of making the dictum 'Thou art That' a live, practical gospel in terms of 'Thou art becoming That' had become 'obscured,' through the contracted, material view taken of becoming. That this was so we can see in the *Īsā* and *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishads. And I contend that Gotama, with his little band of, shall we say? left wing, or progressive Brahman 'converts,' took up this obscured, worsened ideal, and presented it with fresh emphasis in the symbol, the figure, of life compared to a Way through the worlds, where becoming, wayfaring was the work of each man's willed effort, and where right choice (the middle way) was prompted, did man but listen, by the greater Self 'within,' *worded by Sakya as Dharma*.

This parting of the ways when he doth know,
by making-to-become, or the reverse,
he may so fix the self that wisdom grows (282).

Here again is a verse warring with the later doctrine of *anatta*: no-self, and finding no emphasis in the *Piṭakas*. A parallel term *pahitatta*, 'one who has the self established,' is, it is true, in a frequently occurring formula. But it is by the Commentary bent into conformity with the *anatta* teaching, by the philologically improbable exegesis: 'who has the self sent away (*pesitatto*).'¹

The opportunity of the quickened ideal in the New Word was now in the hands of the Sakyans. On the one hand, the task was harder, for as Nonconformists they ceased to have tradition at their back. For a long day religious aristocracy would see in them upstarts. 'With shavelings, menial black fellows, the offscouring of our kinsman's heels, I would talk as I now do to you,'² the young Brahman is made to say to Gotama the kshatriya, an episode which is probably true, but clothed in the diction of a later day, when Sakya, as openly 'Protestant,' had come to use terms of denominational acrimony. On the other hand, Sakya, as a severed 'left-wing' of the Established Church, could teach more freely those emphases on the man as becoming

¹ Cf. *bhāvitattānaṃ* (106). See *infra*, xx. ² *Dīgha-Nikāya*, i, 90.

the More, in conduct and social relations, than it could have done under the ægis of the Brahman, and the mortmain of Brahman ritual and etiquette.

But in its turn the Sakyan New Word came also to be covered and involved in an ægis, an etiquette, more potent and sinister even than the Brahman. These arose from the growing vogue of the *śramaṇa* (*samāna*, *bhikkhu*) as a profession, and the growing psychological trend of thought, later to be called Sāṅkhya. The Established Church also felt the push of these up-growths, but its traditional constitution was able to use them in harness. In the case of Sakya, on the other hand, with no accredited leaders and no tradition as yet worth the name, it was the two vogues which used Sakya and ultimately drove it in harness. Under the Brahman ægis, the man in the Sakyan sayings stands out as divinely real in his potential becoming, as way-faring towards a goal, to attain which much effort and long time were required, but which did not require the cutting himself off from all human relations (save those of teacher-pupil and friend), nor the seeing in this goodly world of earth or other worlds naught in the long run save 'Ill,' nor the seeing in himself nothing of that indwelling God Whom his country's religion saw as his own highest self.

Now it is these three 'Nots' which *were* required in the Piṭakas, so much so, that in them the Sakyan 'under the Brahman ægis' is much obscured and left aside. Mainly we have the monk-editor compiling (and then writing) for the monk. This great change in values will have come about gradually; but it is a change we should look out for in every Piṭaka document, betrayed more or less as going on, or as having gone on.

How is a translation to aid the reader in recognizing this?

There is the way of comment, verse by verse, but it is a way of many words, of a fat volume, and for the reader much tedium. I have seen but one other way, in which the translator, having decided once for all, and again, verse by verse, says nothing, and asks the

reader to approve or dissent. I have chosen this way under the inspiration of a worthy precedent. And further, by copying the method of juxtaposed text and translation, after the mode of the Loeb classical translations, and now for the first time followed in a Pali translation by Harvard University,¹ I have helped the reader who would compare the text with my translation. The way I refer to is, of course, to Richard Garbe's translation of the Bhagavad Gītā, *the printing, namely, in smaller type those verses which are judged to have been compiled under later influences*. In the present case those influences were of the two vogues named above, when these had changed the original Sakyan outlook on the man. I judge that the changed outlook will have dictated many verses and many lines of the anthology. I judge that the main part of the earlier outlook will be surviving sayings, set into Prakrit metre during the last years of the Founder's life. Nothing else could account for the Brahmanical terms and teaching used on such a central matter as the nature of the man or self, which we meet with in this anthology to an extent not to be matched in the rest of the Piṭakas.

I hold it strange that I have not found this commented upon in scholars' works in early Buddhism. To take the most notable of these, one who was equally at home in Brahman and Buddhist literature:—Ölender is never tired of quoting the Dhammapada as best reflecting the 'inmost soul of Buddhism,'² yet he never quotes its verses on the *ātmā* (*attan*), or discerns in these a close link with a day, when the first Sakyans were seeking to strengthen and expand the very nucleus of Brahmanic teaching. On the contrary, when he moves over from Upanishads to 'the beginnings of Buddhism,'³ he, with a curiously blunted historical flair, and taking it all *en bloc*, finds the movement of the 'alt-buddhistische Literatur is, over against that of the Brahmins, essentially on a separate plane.' So

¹ Lord Chalmers's translation of the Sutta-Nipāta.

² *Buddha*, 6th (last) ed., pp. 220, 247, etc.

³ *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 282.

indeed it is for the most part; but not wholly, and we must, with Aquinas, utter our *Distinguo*—namely, that whereas the main emphasis in the Piṭakas does lie ‘on a separate plane,’ there are unemphasized terms, phrases, sentences, surviving in them, left in as it were, which are on a different ‘plane,’ a plane which is in line with the immanent theism or Ātmanism of Brahman teaching.

Greater discrimination in this matter than Oldenberg’s has been shown by two scholars of the present generation, Messrs. B. M. Barua and S. Mitra, in their *Prakrit Dhammapada* (Calcutta, 1921). They find that certain Dhammapada verses, as ‘representing an earlier stage of Buddhism,’ stand in close relation to the Chāndogya Upanishad.¹ This indicates for me a greatly improved outlook, and it is only regrettable that they have tried to draw a parallel which is far less plausible than many others. Their parallel is between Chāndogya VII, 3. 1, 4. 1-3, and 5. 1, and Dhammapada, verses 1, 2, 21 and 43. But there is here no real sequence in teaching. In the first place we have a *common influence* to which both of these scriptures are reacting, the one probably some years after the other: I mean of course the influence of the Kapilan teaching, subsequently called Sāṅkhya. And in the second place we have (Dhp. 43) the man’s personal responsibility insisted upon, which finds no antecedent in the juxtaposed Upanishadic sentence. Passages which to me seem to suggest real sequence, and which are anyway far apter parallels, I have given, and will give presently.

Worthy of attention too are the weighing by Messrs. Barua and Mitra of evidence as to the relative seniority of this and that recension of the Dhammapada as yet accessible to us: the canonical Pali version, the incomplete version in Kharoṣṭhi script discovered in 1896 in Khotan, the portions occurring in the mixed Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu, the Chinese version translated by Beal, known as Fa-kheu-pi-u, the Tibetan version known as Udānavarga, translated by Rockhill, the incomplete

version in later Sanskrit, in Gupta script, known as the Turfan recension, not to mention smaller groups of similar, if not identical verses. But for me these writers pay too little attention to the *contents* of each recension as having any weight in determining seniority; or to the order in the contents. Thus in a literature where, in any listed order, the first items are invariably the most important, I should rate any Dhammapada which placed The Way as number one, as of an older tradition than one which began, as do the Chinese and Tibetan recensions, with Impermanence, or as does the Pali recension, beginning with mind and miscellaneous reflections, and placing the section on the Way as number twenty. I am not pressing for all the verses which have found their seats under Magga, the Way, as being of the oldest. Far from it. Later editing has been very busy over this section, and *anicca* and the rest are quickly marshalled in, in each version. But that Magga should be the start represents an older tradition, as we may see in the order of subjects in 'the Great Book' of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, an order revealing a nearness in time to the day of the man who, by his close attendant, was described as the teacher of the One Subject: 'who made a Way to arise, to be perceived, to be declared, Way-knower, Way-witter, Way-master.'¹

I find, indeed, that the Vagga on the Way (No. 12) in the Tibetan Udāna recension of our anthology is, from verses 9 to the end, a far apter discourse on the Way of Sakyamuni than is that of all the other recensions saving only one feature in the Prakrit recension. Condensed it runs: 'I have taught you that this Way cuts off pain . . . you yourselves must strive . . . There is no road but this going to perfect enlightenment. . . . This Way is straight; it leads to the other world. . . . Sakyamuni expounded it again to the many . . . through kindness and compassion I teach the Way. . . . As Gangā flows . . . into ocean, so he who walks in the even way will arrive at the ending of death . . . at the other shore.'

¹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, No. 108.

The one feature in the Prakrit recension which, together with that of the priority of the Way Vagga, suggests to me what may have been the real original beginning is the verse there occupying first place, the Chariot of the Way:

Straight is the name that Way is called, and Free
from fear the Quarter whither thou art bound.
Thy chariot is the Silent Runner named,
with wheels of Righteous Effort fitted well.
Conscience the Leaning Board; the Canopy
is heedfulness; the Driver Dharma is,
I say, and Right Views he who Runs Before.
And be it woman be it man for whom
such chariot doth wait, by that same car
he verily shall to nirvana (go).

In the Pali Canon these eloquent lines have found their sole resting-place in the Suttas of the Saṅgutta-Nikāya, where they are made the Founder's answer to a deva, recently a monk on earth, asking for a Beyond to his new world of life. And with the exception of the last line it is, for me, of the original teaching. It is also a figure used in the Katha Upanishad:

Know thou the Ātman in a chariot riding,
the body is that chariot;
Know thou intelligence as driver
and the mind as reins.
The senses, say they, are the horses;
objects of sense are where they range.
The Ātman with the senses and the mind
him wise men do call the enjoyer.

In the driver substituted by Sakya we have the new religious significance in Dharma to which we find explicit allusion in a notable Sutta of the same Pali Nikāya.

But there is one pada, the last in the Pali lines, where I sense a later gloss: *nibbānass' eva santike*. Now this pada occurs in verse 32 of the Pali Dhammapada; also metrically otherwise—*nibbānaṃ santike*—in a monastically conceived poem of the Saṅgutta-Nikāya (iv, 74, 75) with the antithesis, *ārā nibbānaṃ vuccati*: 'he is called "far from nirvana."' For me Nirvana, as a

concept of the goal of life as divine perfection realized, was not of original Sakya. This goal was called *artha*, *paramartha*, *pariyosāna*. Nirvana was the waning out of all evil:—*rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*, as Sāriputta is credited with having said, when asked to define ‘nibbāna.’ And there is a curious feature about this pada which, when compared with the use of *santike* elsewhere in the Dhammapada, inclines me to see in it a rather badly substituted phrase. Elsewhere we have the verb ‘go’ in two forms accompanying *santike*: in verse 224 it is $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$:

ete hi tīhi thānehi gacche devāna santike

(for these three things ‘mong devas may he go);

and in verse 237 it is $\sqrt{\text{i}}$ (in *-yāto*):

Upanītavayo ca dāni ‘si; sampayāto’ si Yamassa santike.

(Now art brought to close of life; to Yama’s presence setting out.)

The versifier has been careful not to omit anything so essential as the moving on, the ‘wayfaring’ of the man. The verb is only omitted when the word *santika* (presence, vicinity) expressed an objective attained, a stasis, a state. (Cf. Sutta-Nipāta, verses 379, 564 f., 1128 with 426, 429.) Here we have emphatically a moving on to an objective, *yet here the verb has been omitted*. Hence I feel strongly we have a verb-less pada, expressing a later value in ‘Nirvana,’ thrusting aside some such older pada as

Sa ve etena rathena sad-attham eva gacchati.

Indeed, the word ‘goes’ (*gacchati*) is a favourite Dhammapada ending to a line, that being its place every time (5) it occurs, the Sutta-Nipāta compilers on the other hand giving it the penultimate place.¹

¹ A point of minor interest is that the Commentator on the Saṃyutta, after expounding in much detail the Chariot Sutta up to the syce of right views, *ends his exegesis there*, as if an abridged version of the Sutta had been for a time in this Nikāya, taken over, it may be, from the early Dhammapada. We see the same thing happening in Somā’s spirited gāthā in this Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 129), the last and best portion of which never found its way into the Therīgāthā (verses 60-62).

Or, if *santike* was in the original pada, it may have resembled verse 224, thus—

. . . *gacche sadatthay santike.*

But about that matter of precedence I hear the critic saying: 'If there be any validity in this idea, that in an Indian category the first item is the chief, and if the nucleus of the Dhammapada was indeed near in time and spirit to Brahman teaching, surely the section on the Self would have been first. But we find the Attavagga as No. 13.

Touché, I would reply; I was not sufficiently explicit; I did not state my case historically. When the Sakyan compilers will have started on an anthology of leading subjects in their teaching, the Way will have been for them, *as missionaries of a New Word*, the most important thing to put first, for it represented the very *raison d'être* of their being a teaching Order. The Self *was already and had long been* the Centre of India's established religion, and fully preached. They were out to present It in the man with a New Force: the Self as becoming in the man to what extent he *made It become*, or developed It in his life, Wayfarer in the Way.

And here, in laying down this useful contribution, the *Prakrit Dhammapada*, I would reiterate my keen regret that recent translators have so helped to blind us to the paramount importance in original Buddhism of the conception of Becoming by linking the word *bhāvanā*, *bhāvita*, with 'meditation'! There is nothing essentially identical between the Pali and the English terms. The Pali is the causative of 'becoming': 'make become'; and, if 'make-become' startle precious taste, we must fall back on terms of tillage, such as developing, cultivating, growth. Fausböll saw this and renders the term *bhāvitattānaṃ* by *semet ipsum colit*: 'cultivates the very self,' as were It the man's garden. Max-Müller, with his 'him whose soul is well grounded,' is less accurate;¹ but he is better than any more recent

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, X, f. 32 (verse 106 f.).

translators, with 'meditates on the self,' 'self-subdued,' and the like. The commentator on the Dhammapada (who was certainly *not* Buddhaghosa) has been too much ignored with his 'vaddhitattānaṃ': 'the self made to grow.' So, too, has Buddhaghosa's vigorous definition in the Commentary on Dhammasangani—'*bhāveti* means beget, causes to arise, causes to grow'—been overlooked. Overlooked also is the significant way in which the verb is used whenever any effort of will is involved to bring about some new or abnormal state in the man: such as access in Jhāna, achievement in Iddhi, irradiating amity in another and, last but not least, 'making the Way to become'¹—that is, growing in our living toward the Divine. We must, we must let this pregnant word, which the Sakyan sayings brought into use in Indian literature, come at last into its own in our own tongue, and put the fire of the living will into the place of the placid hush of 'meditation.'

To come back to Garbe's example and my imitation. The hope of effecting, by this, that historical insight into the present anthology, which he has helped forward in the Gītā, is my sole excuse for including a Dhammapada translation in this series of Buddhist 'sacred books.' It is true that I have at the same time tried to be more closely reproducing the text than my predecessors. In particular I have avoided the Western (and only for *secular* meanings, the Indian) way of using the word 'self'; it simply cannot be right, in a *religious* work of the days of early Buddhism, to see in 'self' just, and only just, what we now see. It is true that the Pali has no 'the' before 'self.' But neither, before 'self,' has it ever a possessive pronoun: *himself*, etc. Had I used 'self' for 'the self' I should inevitably have dragged in that lowered value of the self which the word, together with its apparently inoffensive adjective, self-ish, has somehow come to have for us. There is in the Dhammapada a higher and a lower self: that is clear enough. So there is in the Maitrāyana Upanishad,

¹ *Vinaya*, i, p. 11.

a work which in parts is probably of Gotama's very day. But for us, unless we prefix a 'higher' or 'better' to self, or affix to it terms of commendation:—

Self-wisdom, self-knowledge, self-control . . .

we tend to use self in the depreciated meaning—indeed, Tennyson's third compound has that.

As to rhythm and scansion I have not been careful when it came to a choice between these and literal accuracy. But in spite of my lamented friend the late Sir Charles Eliot's verdict to the contrary, I still hold with rendering a work in verse by verse, and not by prose. It is true that Dhammapada verse is, fairly often, anything but real poetry. It is true that metre may have been often or mainly used, not because a poetic afflatus demanded it, but because the need of a bookless world to make mantras in a form hard to alter demanded it. Nevertheless it is part of a translator's task to produce in his reader, as far as may be, the effect in form as well as in meaning that the original produced on an average hearer. And I cannot away with the conviction, that we get nearer to this effect in rendering metric speech by metric speech than were we to reproduce it in prose.

At the same time, moreover, I have made this much of an advance on earlier translations, that I have (a) given the variant readings found in the eleven sections of the Prakrit fragment, and (b) increased the references I inserted, from Rhys Davids's notes and my own, at the foot of the pages of the P.T.S. text, including several parallels from earlier Upanishads.

And then the reader has here, as he has not elsewhere, text as well as translation.

But these are all details, insufficient, one or the lot, to have warranted as yet the making of a new translation. My sole sufficient reason was to suggest, by larger and smaller type, an object-lesson in the history of changing values in documents ranking as 'scripture.' Thus, for instance, my types suggest that the lines:

By dharma of well-faring let him fare;
 not by what is ill-faring let him fare.
 Happy the dharma-farer lives,
 both in this world and in the next !

are earlier, and conform less to the outlook of what I would call the professional monastic than these:

As 'twere but froth he saw, as 'twere mirage
 he saw:—when he the world so contemplates,
 the death-king (passing) sees him not.

(Verses 169, 170.)

That the verses have no poetic merit is neither here nor there: they have none in the Pali, of which the English is a literal rendering. But the first verse sounds the true Sakyan note of hope and confidence in the great adventure of world-wayfaring, with heed to the inner guide, the inner monitor of dharma or, as we should say, conscience—the urge of the Divine Self aiding the man's becoming That Who he is. The latter verse reveals the recluse turning away from world-wayfaring as not an adventure in Becoming, but as mere vanity, as 'Ill,' and looking on death, not as the opener of the new stadium in Becoming, but as That who is at all costs to be evaded.

Here I halt again, for an impatient critic is saying: 'But your two verses can quite well be expressions of two phases in one and the same man. Now he is the hopeful, earnest wayfarer; now he is depressed at what life in this body and this world entails. Are you not familiar with both phases in yourself?'

This is at first sight quite a plausible objection to the setting up earlier and later strata of verse. To survive it I need to put in one more *caveat* against the Dhammapada being a 'nosegay' of poetic sentiments. Such an anthology were possible at a date when, the Sakyan 'church' having become well and solidly established as a preponderant cult, a monk of poetic vein might utter or write groups of verses on 'Phases of the Religious Life,' or the like, both from his own experience

and also from sayings current outside his Order. But such a work the Dhammapada at first was not. It betrays, as I have said, very early sources, some Brahmanic and some which I hold to be pristine Sakyan. And these, especially the former, would not pass, in any wholly later work, the sanctions of ecclesiastical orthodoxy of the later date. No, we must look upon our Dhammapada as a more or less assorted mass of sayings, put into verse, for giving the sayings fixity, at different times, till finally some Church decision, most probably in Ceylon, decided that the work was closed. Now, among these groups of sayings, those which were made metrical earliest will have reflected, not a poet's view of the religious life in general, but the eager and insistent teachings of the *Men of the New Word*: of the Way, or of the Man as Becoming the More wayfaring toward the Most. Such men had, it may well be, their moments of depression over what they had to face, in their own growth and in the world they sought to help. But that they should have given an expression to such moods, side by side with the cardinal notes in their teaching, as of equal interest and importance—why, for such relatively idle wailing they were not fain, they had no time, no will. Had they stopped to make moan they would have ascribed the sentiments to the man who sees fear: *bhayadassāvin*; to the man who is bewildered: *mutthasacca*; to the pessimist: *ādīnava-saññin*. But they were urging on men to live the Way going to joy (*maggo pītigamaniyo*), to heed the inner Guide therein, who was the very guarantee of ultimately safe adventure (*yogakkhema*). And to have talked in the tone of the views from which they dissuaded would have blunted the force of their gospel. Hence it is that I seek to get readers to cultivate an ear for the different chord sounded by the bright missionary-monk, on the one hand; from that sounded by the professional recluse, who was no longer professional missionary, on the other, yet who had to wave his flag of world-ill to save his credit as world-forsaker.

Such a sensitive 'ear' is a very possible accomplish-

ment, if only there be given time enough to its cultivation. I shall before very long have taken half a century over the getting of it, but its reaction is now good. Others taking less devious courses could win it in a far shorter interval, especially if their cultivation begins with such a translation as this, and that of Garbe. His task was, I think, if longer, easier than mine. In the *Gītā* he had, apart from the easy discounting of twenty-four verses, connecting the Interlude at first and at last with the epic in which it is embedded, a poem of 676 verses of a continuous dialogue of connected discourse. Into this discourse, which is between a personified deity and a warrior in labour-pains over a growing ethic, he detected certain metaphysical apothegms of a pedantic character, most of them belonging to Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā scholastic, the withdrawing of which in no way mutilated the discourse, but rather consolidated it. Together, the glosses amounted to over one-fifth of the whole poem, but, had he felt justified in following his 'ear,' he could have increased the number—so he admits. In other words, he judged that certain verses, containing terms betraying a change in values which is in conflict with the religious values of the greater part of the poem, do not belong to its original form. He suspects also some change in the contexts surrounding these interpolated verses.

In the *Dhammapada* we have no enframing matter, nor have we any continuous discourse. Every verse, or, here and there, every two or three verses, are so many little detached poems. To some extent the Commentary makes a good attempt at explaining each segregation of verse. At other times its story is a bad misfit. And in any case the Commentary, when it came to take written form, must have gone through so much change on the tongues of centuries of freely expounding monks, that no historical reliance as to the real occasion which prompted the original saying can be placed in it. But it is quite possible that the first nucleus of the Sayings versified in the *Dhammapada* was grouped under a few heads, and that, from time

to time, both heads (-*vaggā*), and verses under each head, and even lines in verses, may have been added.

It will be pertinent to consider this sentence more in detail.

That the groups originally began with a Magga-vagga, as in the Prakrit recension, seems to me far more probable than that such a section was originally late in the list and was promoted to front rank. And why? Because whereas the Way, the Man or Self in the Way, was the symbol and substance of the Sakyan New Word, we know by the Pali scriptures that the Way was virtually dethroned (*a*) by the four truths (in which the Way finds a place, but where the emphasis is on Ill), (*b*) by the three-fold shibboleth of impermanence, ill and not-self, and (*c*) by the ecclesiastical trinity of 'Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha.' Nor was there any swing of the pendulum bringing the Magga once more at a later time back to front place.

But even if the shifting of an original beginning with a Magga-vagga be allowed, there is matter harder of explanation in the order of the remaining twenty-five; the weighing it in detail would take a volume, nor could I bring even a lighted taper to lighten our darkness about it. As to the last vagga, 'Brahmana,' I would ask the critic to distinguish, in final accretions in Pali books, between what has been (*a*) a relatively recent composition showing later values, (*b*) a saying or group of sayings which, while giving early values, has been incorporated later, and (*c*) a word or phrase of the earlier values which has been at a later period wrought up into verse to serve persisting or later ideals. Examples of (*a*) and (*b*) may be found in the last sections of the Majjhima and Saṃyutta Nikāyas respectively.¹ I incline to see in the last Vagga of our anthology an example of (*c*). Sakya will have started with, not the arahān, but the Brahman at his best—a pious upright man-in-the-world—as its human ideal. (How could it be otherwise with that majority of its first teachers Brahmins?)

¹ Cf. my Introduction to Vol. V of *Kindred Sayings*, P.T.S. ed.

This tradition will have remained, as did the Brahman term *tevijjo*: 'man of the three Vedas.' And this tradition as embodied in certain sayings will be seen, not only in, *e.g.*, the Vāsetṭha-Sutta of Majjhima and Sutta-Nipāta, but also in such of the verses in Vagga 26 as have older standards, while the term itself may well have been worked up in verses of the later stamp. The reader will see that for me this Vagga is a mixture of this kind.

In the next place, that, throughout the anthology, verses may have been from time to time interpolated is not the less probable event it will have been in a connected discourse. I believe that interpolations were made both in poems and Suttas. But with the Dhammapada Commentary giving hundreds of different occasions for the versified sayings to arise, interpolation of a verse with its story is not a wild surmise. And I find no difficulty in seeing such an interpolation in the three verses (277-79), occurring also in the Theragāthā anthology, of 'the three ways to "purity"' (not a genuine Sakyan *summum bonum*), thrust in under the verse on the Way which was to take man to *Artha*—the goal of the Thing Needed. It is not so much 'way to purity' that for me rings as late and less; it is the *shrinkage*, not the becoming, of *the man*, involved in the terms 'impermanent,' 'ill,' 'not-self.' Most, however, of the interpolations occur where we should first look for them—namely, at the end of a Vagga—*e.g.*, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 15, 18, etc.

Lastly, as to inserted lines or padas: these usually occur in couplets swollen by such to an extra line, and the removal of them harms neither sense nor metre, as in verses 1, 2. In 92, 93, again, where the words 'the void, the unmarked, liberty' are for me as truly of later values as is for Garbe the word *māyā* in a given context, the whole line containing these can be removed with no remaining incoherence in the text.

Yesaṃ sannicayo natthi, ye pariññātabhojanā
(suññato animitto ca vimokkho yesaṃ gocaro)
ākāse va sakuntānaṃ gati tesaṃ durannayā.

Again in verse 20:

Though he say little that is proper, yet if he
by dharma walk, of passion, hate and dulness rid,
(rightly intelligent, his mind well freed,
not grasping after either earth or yonder)
partaker is that man in holy life,

where the excision reduces the Pali from three lines to the more usual two, corresponding to the preceding two of this connected pair of verses (19, 20).

Let me now summarize the grounds on which I have marked certain verses or lines, amounting to less than one-third of the whole, as not belonging to the original nucleus of versified sayings. The passages I put as later, taken together, bear for me some hall-mark of monastic values. They lack, on the other hand, the hall-marks of a positive evangel of faith and hope in a revealed More in man's nature and destiny. Verses bearing these 'hall-marks' I have left untouched, not because there will have been no man of a later date to compose verses about such an evangel, but because, if *any such verses* in the anthology be later, they at any rate do not present a discord with the spirit which is, for me, that of the original sayings. They are the loyal echoes of a greater day. They are virtually *vieille roche*.

Verses of a monastic outlook are such as—

1. Deal disparagingly with the body, with the mind, with beauty; direct attention to the ugly; look on the mind (*manas*) as the 'man,' in the later Abhidhamma way.
2. Are warnings against any love-relations (save that of friend).
3. Speak disparagingly of the 'masses,' the many-folk.
4. Hold up 'the world' and life in it as 'ill,' as, without exception, to be feared.
5. Hold up life in any world as 'ill.'
6. Praise solitude as having value in itself.

7. Abuse the concept of 'becoming' (*bhava*, as being merely material renewal with following decay).

8. Show preoccupation with monkish interests, both in the cloister and in relation with the laity (gifts, merit, etc.).

9. Hold up shrunken sceptical notions about the nature of the man.

10. Conceive the Final Attainment as a waning and passing out.

11. See salvation in negative ideas, such as release, the void, ending, etc.

12. Conceive evil influences as a person (*Māra*).

13. Reveal an external, 'scriptural' meaning in 'Dhamma.'

14. Show a developed ecclesiastical trinity for worship: 'Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha.'

15. See a high worth in Buddhas and arahans as static, finished.

16. Use (and frequently) a term of thought concentrated on evil: *āsava*.

It is important, if the reader is not to be referred to a trail of notes as appendix, that I go briefly into each of these features I hold to be later values. It will then suffice if, at the verses, reference is made to these sixteen.

1. *E.g.*, verses 7, 8, 47-50, 202, 350. My intention here is not that I would have the original Sakya credited with rating man's material vehicle as equal with the spiritual self. It is the deliberate contemplation of the worse, the ugly, the foul, which is such a feature in the *Pitakas* and later literature—*e.g.*, in the *Jhāna* so called—that is to me of the growing monk-vogue. We note this attitude beginning already in the *Maitri Upanishad*, 1. 3, which I place in the time of early Sakya. With regard to similar depreciation of the mind—*e.g.*, verse 34—I shall have to compare this with its rehabilitation in scholastic literature at the end of this Introduction.

2. In the *Piya-vagga* (XVI: Precious)¹ we need to distinguish between the appreciated Brahmanic value

¹ This has been curiously translated by some writers as 'agreeable.'

of the Self as the most precious possession of the man and the monkish value of the fear and danger in cherishing affection for human beings. In verse 209 we have the former value, and again in 218. (In *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, i, 71 f., in the *Suttas Piya*, *Attarakkhita* and *Mallikā*, we have pure Brahmanic teaching—Brh. Up., 1. 4, 8, etc.—with one important addition: that the lover of the Divine Self within was, recognizing 'That' in the fellow-man, to 'harm no other man.') In the following verses, 210-16, and in 284 f., we have the note of monastic fear.

3. Verse 58 is prettier as poetry than as religious teaching. And the Commentary rubs in the comparison of 'Everyman' with rubbish. Early gospels do not take this high-brow tone. Everyman may be 'as sheep without a shepherd,' but to the shepherds he is 'precious.' A prodigal, yet they 'run to meet him.'

4. *E.g.*, verses 46, 170, 175, 334-44, 356-69, 381, 395, 397 f., 400-02, 414 ff. This feature is, of course, that which the monk in any religion most values, and that which it is to his interest he should never fail to advertise. Most of all where the monastic vogue is yet young and waxing. When this social cleavage is well established, we see it less brought to the front. Cf. the opening challenge in the *Milinda* conversations.¹

5. This feature of an ascetic cult is less universally true. But as we know, the rejection of opportunities to the Better in any survival of this earth-life underwent a great worsening in Sakya, so much so that the very central idea of Becoming (figured by 'the Way')—*bhava*—was fiercely attacked, the word for rebirth being also *bhava*. It was only in the causative form *bhāvanā*, 'making to become,' that the mother-idea of Becoming was still cherished—cherished, but at the expense of any glowing faith in progress in the Beyond. See verses 20, 97, 153 f.

6. Verses 75, 175, 210, 346 ff., 360 ff., 381, 397, 410, 415, 421.

¹ *The Milinda Questions*, by the writer, p. 29.

7. Verses 351, 415 f., and cf. with 5.

8. Verses 73 f., 358, 365. The Dhammapada is mainly too early to insist on that virtue of *dāna*, giving, which, as meaning giving not to the needy and sufferers in general, but to monks, is so much commended by the latter in the Piṭakas, and is even made to stand *at the head* of the outlined 'sermon' at the very start of Gotama's mission! Contrariwise, it is to this anthology that Buddhism owes the only occurrence of the verse so much quoted in this day of altered ideals:

The gift¹ of dharma conquers every gift (or surpasses, verse 354),

where dharma presumably has come to mean Dhamma, or religious teaching. But the notion of merit (*puñña*) is just beginning to outgrow the earlier (late Vedic) meaning of righteous conduct, such as will guarantee communion hereafter with a worthier world, with devas (verses 18, 220), and is beginning to mean especially the store of merit accruing to the layman from due warding of the 'holy man' (cf. verse 196), or from due regard, verse 108.

9. These are mainly included under the triple 'shibboleth' *anicca, dukkha, anattā* (verses 277 ff.), and are for me emphatically a monastic growth, which should be carefully kept apart from the original teaching. The *first* men were teaching a view of the man's potential growth which was a strengthening of the lofty concept of human nature as taught in the early Upanishads; they would not possibly be bent on showing the very man as momentary, wrapped in miseries and not real. Had this evil canker assumed the strength it won later, when this anthology was edited, written, closed, we should not find it confined to one obvious gloss thrust into the Way chapter, just because the word 'way' and the worthy idea of advance had been applied to it. It would have shown itself more than once.

10, 11. The term nirvana, *nibbāna*, I hold to have been first applied in Sakya to that diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man, which is the negative

¹ Omitted in vocabulary of P.T.S. ed.

aspect of his positive advance in becoming. The same holds good of other terms, such as *virāga* (*nirodha* does not occur here). The transference of the first term to the final goal came later, when such positive terms as *attha*, *paramattha*,¹ *pariyosāna* were falling into disuse, together with the shrinkage of the Way-concept and with less looking forward to happier states of life in other worthier worlds. The concept of *suñña*, void, is another later undesirable growth, corresponding to the vague negativeness of nirvana and the turning away from other-world progress, and in which, no doubt to give it posthumous dignity in the Suttas, Ānanda is, of all unsuitable disciples, made to play the part of interested interlocutor.

12. The personification of evil belongs as much to the legend of Buddhism as does the Bodhi-tree, and permeates prose and verse of the Piṭakas as much as does a personal 'devil' the Gospels. For the history of it the reader who knows German should read the masterly essay *Māra und Buddha*, by Windisch (1895).

13. I have mentioned this under (8), and have gone into it in my *Sakya* (1931), pp. 351, 363, 365. (Cf. *infra*, verse 259.) Not enough is yet made of this significant change in early Buddhist development. The externalization of dharma was a natural result of two things: the denial of the reality of the very man or self, on whom dharma as the urge of the Higher Self worked as 'Inner Controller' (*antarayāmin*), or, in our diction, as conscience; and secondly, the growth of a corpus of fixed sayings in a bookless world where, in the Order, there had never been but one living human Head, who is said to have appointed *dharma* as his successor.

14. There is no need to point out the verses revealing this ecclesiastical growth such as may be seen in all old-established religions. The usual error in Buddhist studies is to put the growth of it too early. The first two Councils show no development of it. The Vinaya editors obviously force it to the front from the very first.

¹ These two became earmarked for 'meaning.'

15. Both the Buddhas and the saints conceived as something static, moveless, finished, 'done,' has already begun to show itself in the Dhammapada, albeit to a very slight extent (verses 414, 422; cf. verse 134).

16. This curious Piṭakan term of an inner spreading poison belongs to that morbid dwelling on human vice so characteristic of a movement which had 'given up' the mass of mankind as hopeless and as to be avoided as far as possible.

I do not expect that readers, when they come to verses bearing one or more of these features, will experience the jar they call up in me. Readers and writers in this field are as yet too persuaded that 'the simple statements of Buddhist doctrines now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books'¹ are the oldest, the relatively most original. Perhaps nothing, alas! is further from the truth. In any corpus of ancient scripture we are in the presence of a corpse which, while it lived, came to take its shape as a changing, a growing thing. And its adult, finished form will be other than its features in youth. *These* may survive as 'rudimentary forms'; thus, *e.g.*, 'Were it not better that you sought the Self?'² But *those* will be the predominant features of the beast; in other words, those 'identical passages everywhere repeated' and emphasized it is, that are the characteristics of the adult church, the later Sakya, the about-to-be scholastic Buddhism. The rudimentary forms survive, are somehow left in; but never are they repeated. Venerable are they, but they are no longer 'sound.' And more: in those repeated passages not only will the later characteristics predominate; they will also have tended to intrude and obscure the older features. They remind me of step-cutting up icy slopes,

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 188; cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 6th ed., p. 219 f., where a preference is expressed for seeing an *ipse dixit* in metrical sayings, without any caveat as to how far monastic they may be in spirit.

² *Vinaya*, i, 23.

where the splinters from the last blows above fall down and would obliterate those steps just cut below, and where safety depends largely on keeping the latter cleared. We have only to look at the Vagga on 'the Way' to see this obliterating of the older by the later. The Way of becoming has there become split up into an eightfold category, wherein its religious meaning is obscured; a fourfold category follows, which, whatever was its original content, came to be, three parts of it, a brooding on Ill; and the negation of all strong emotion (*virāga*) is lauded as 'the best of things.'

But let us leave word-parables on one side—they are a Buddhist, an Indian weakness—and come to word-pictures of what really will have taken place. It is a worthier exercise of reconstructive imagination, but it is also harder, and that is perhaps why we do not work it enough. Let us picture, so far as we may, that world, a little world to our day, of the Founder's old age, and the growing need of perpetuating his sayings and the sayings of his first men, before the day dawned when his seat, his cell would be for ever empty. 'Yes,' one of that group would perhaps tell us were he here, 'we were at Sāvattthī. We held our Founder in great reverence in his last years, as one who had long been a venerated teacher (Satt̐har). But we were much younger, and our feeling for him was largely that for one who was a finished man. We cherished him as an aged grandfather who had done his speaking. For us the words, the wording, was the thing, that we might have the wherewithal to replace him, when we could no more refer to him in this matter and that. But very few senior men were left, and they were not with us. Sāriputta and Moggallāna were gone; Kaccāna and Kassapa were recluses, too much so for our leader, and with their bands of recluses they would not live by Sāvattthī, but away in the wilds. Anuruddha never mixed with us; he cared only to be with his two friends. The man of the Brahmavihāras had left the earth. Ānanda was with us, but he had no gift of words. Gavampati and Koṭṭhita, both aged, did not live at

Sāvatthi; the man the books call The Man of Old¹ would have no fixed wording; he believed only in living his religion. But we others set great store by our coming to have a fixed and ordered set of mantras. We felt the need of making our own Vedas. And we held, that to put the sayings we were remembering and teaching into verse was the best way of preserving them. Verse could not be so easily altered as prose. And verse was as mantra more impressive when uttered. Some of us had the metric gift, and to these we leading disciples dictated in prose what they were to turn into verse, we watching their work and criticizing. Our language was not “Pali”; that is a much later diction. It was much like the verses you have in Kharoṣṭhi script, soft and pliant, not unlike the Māgadhi form of Prakrit. And it had many words for the man: the *nara*, *jantu*, *posa*, the *purisa*, the man as *ātmā* in compounds, such as *bhāvītātmā*: “he who has made the man to grow.” We always taught “the man” . . . Yes, we taught the Way in many ways, but for us it was the man in the Way who really mattered, and *dharma* in the man as guiding him if he willed to be guided. And we had a way of emphasizing both man and *dharma* by speaking of them as *sa-dḍharma* and *sa-ppurisa*. It is a quaint way, a little like your “Very man of very man” in the creed-words. We said too *sa-d-artha* in emphasizing the Wayfarer’s aim as he wayfared through the worlds, in the Way that was *artha-sahita*, belonging to the goal. We did not then speak of the goal as nirvana; this was for us the waning out of evil in us, not of life. And we did not associate fire with evil, as monks came to do later. For us fire was as the very quickening of life, *ajjhataṇ*, “within.” I seem to remember that we compiled in all some dozen Vaggas. There was first the Way, then the verses on “the Not-wanton,” or, as the more positive West would say, Seriousness, or Earnestness. Then came the Mind, and the Flowers, then a Vagga on the Wise and the Foolish:

¹ Purāṇa, *Vinaya*, ii, 289.

that is five; then verses on the very Worthy Men—yes, we used the word *arahān*, *arahanto*, but we never looked on men so called as finished, perfected; that will have been later. Then a Vagga on estimates or weighing, called Thousands, a loose way of saying “more” with emphasis. Then a Vagga on Evil; then one on Violence and its opposite—that is nine, is it not? One on Old Age and then one on Miscellanea. Lastly, the Vagga on the Man, the *Ātmā*. Sayings on him had been versified, but there were some among us who held the man could only be known in and through Mind (*chitta*), and were inclined to suppress them. The Satthar heard of this, and was insistent they should go in. So this was done, and the twelve Vaggas were our little anthology of Dhammapada: Verses on Dharma, or the Ought-to-be. It is sad that you have no good word for it. This does not mean that many verses in the other Vaggas were not composed in our day, such as those so well known in the Sukha-Vagga: “O let us live happily . . .” and nearly all the verses in the Loka-Vagga. But either we grouped the verses of our day under one or other of those dozen heads, or we memorized them as separate poems, which were later added to the anthology.’

Readers may wave this sort of thing aside as phantasy, yet I am not without hope that it may help to outline a picture of what, it will not be denied, *may* have been the circumstances under which this very venerable group of poems began, and from which it grew to the more than doubled length of its shape in the Pali recension. That in so growing in bulk there should also be reshaping in the grouping, not to mention other editorial work of gloss, is a plausible supposition *when* we have taken a careful survey of those circumstances. It is so much easier, for instance, to be tidy, finished, ordered in our corpus of literature, when its items are written manuscripts, let alone printed books, than when those items are groups of mantras, not in space at all, but potential sounds uttered by a remembering recorder.

The fact that the groups placed first differ in each recension known to us of the Dhammapada should show

us how plastic, under such circumstances, may be the structure of such a living 'book.' The Chinese were writing, it is true, when Dhammapada Vaggas were brought to China, but the Vaggas were doubtless brought by living books or recorders. And the very natural consequences followed that, whether the live 'broadcaster' from India began with the Way, or whether he started with the Pairs, as in our Pali version, the Chinese teachers of this Indian Wisdom would come to put first such topics as *they* held of chief importance. The Tibetans would do so no less. And so we get Anitya, 'impermanence,' or the Transient, ranked first in both these versions, the Way coming as No. 28 out of 39 Vaggas in the former and as No. 12 out of 33 in the latter.

This is a more emphatically monkish start than that of the Pali version, which has no Vagga on the Transient, and only mentions the word once in any verse, but which—significant readjustment!—starts off with the subject of the *mind* as the leading topic. So powerfully had the growing psychological vogue, which we know as (early) Sāṅkhya, bent the stream of Sakyan teaching aside from its source.

Less obvious is the following up the Pair on the Mind with the following nine pairs of this Yamaka-Vagga (I). The reader could easily fit them better under Anger, Flowers, Monk, Wisdom and other Vaggas. Why, he may wonder, was not the whole Mind Vagga (No. 3) regrouped under those first two verses of Vagga I? I seem to find an explanation in two directions. In the first place, we are concerned, in Sakya, with a relatively very new culture, not with an older one as was that of Brahmanism. In this, in the inner world of its religious culture, the memorizing of mantras was an old-established art, and the memorized matter, even then, of great age. The Sakyan world was yet infant in forming its own Vedas; not one of the first Brahmans among the Sakyans is called *tevijja*, versed in the Vedas—i.e., as repeater; the disciples coming into Sakya had to be helped to get the 'Bible' of the New Sayings fluent on their tongues. And the mode of presenting

topics in the contrasted light of the Pairs—the good man and the bad, the angry man and the peaceful, and the like—is obviously an easy beginning for the new memorizer. In the second place, the terms in which the mind (*mano*) is spoken of, in the beginning of the Pali version, strike for my ear a different note from that sounding through the Third, the Mind Vagga (*citta*). In this Vagga the mind is regarded with head-shaking as very ‘kittle cattle,’ a fine instrument (not in any way the very man), but shifty and very hard to manage, a ‘city,’ it is true, as compared with the ‘jar’ of the body,¹ yet no less threatened by the powers of evil. When we compare these verses with those at the beginning of Vagga I, we note that verse 1 comes from the men who compiled the Abhidhamma; we are there in a ‘universe of thought’ where the man is estimated in respectful terms of the mind (*mano*) and of things (*dhammā*)—i.e., of things as mental presentations. The diction is still much older than the age of Buddhaghosa, for the mind is still held distinct from, is not yet resolved into, *dhamma*’s.² Mind is in fact become a dummy man, just as we see him in the edited Suttas, promoted to be the city-judge, functioning as the very man, the self, occupying much the same position as our own psychology-obsessed outlook has assigned it. But neither is it the diction of the day of the Founder. Had this pair of verses been devised then, we might find:

attapubbangamaṇ cittaṇ attasetṭham attamayaṇ;
 paduṭṭhatto ce puriso bhāsati vā karoti vā,
 tato naṇ dukkham anveti cakkaṇ va vahato padaṇ.

a diction which at least reminds us of those ever memorable words:

attadīpā viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā . . .
 (live ye as having the Man (the Self) as lamp, as chosen resort,
 as having no other resort . . .)³

¹ Verse 40.

² ‘A mere mass of dhamma’s,’ *Vinaya Comy.*, i, 22.

³ *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii, 100; iii, 58, 77; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, iii, 42; v, 154, 163.

The *mano* of the interpolated first Vagga is a usurper in the older Sakya of the Man of the Way, and he is come to stay—yet awhile.

But not for all the time. Man grows even in his mistakes. Either he values the man in some form of 'the More' in becoming, in the long wayfaring towards the greater That Who he in very potency is, or he values him in some form of the Less—*anicca*, *dukkha*, *anatta*—because for awhile he is seeking the Manifold where he had found the One. But he will not rest content with this seeking. Once more will he gird up his loins and march whither the One beckons.

Au fond de l'idéal Dieu fait signe . . . sache attendre !

And he will seek the One in worthier way than before. Become he must, for That-Who-he-is is the very will in his becoming.

*When now, when then he grasps how body-mind
arise and pass away, rapture and joy he wins
of them who can discern the deathless That.¹*

¹ Verse 374 (an Unpanishadic echo).

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I
DHAMMAPADAṆ
VERSES ON DHAMMA

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA.

DHAMMAPADAṆ

I. YAMAKAVAGGO.

1. Manopubbangamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā,
manasā ce paduṭṭhena bhāsati vā karoti vā,
tato naṇ dukkham anveti, cakkaṇ va vahato padaṇ.

-
2. Manopubbangamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā,
manasā ce pasannena bhāsati vā karoti vā,
tato naṇ sukham anveti, chāyā va anapāyini.

-
3. Akkocchi maṇ, avadhi maṇ, ajini maṇ, ahāsi me:
ye taṇ upanayhanti, veraṇ tesaṇ na sammati.

4. Akkocchi maṇ, avadhi maṇ, ajini maṇ, ahāsi me:
ye taṇ na¹ upanayhanti, veraṇ tesûpasammati.

¹ B^r nûpanayhanti; S^c nopanayhanti.

^{2(c)}. For the simile cf. Tha. 1041-3.

3-6. = Vin. i, 349; Jât. iii, 212 (108-10).

NOTE.—The lines under verses indicate where the Commentary has a fresh story to tell, to which the verse was supposed to be the outcome as mantra, summing up the religious lesson. Opposite, the line merely indicates division between sets of 'twins.'

VERSES ON DHAMMA

I. TWIN (VERSES).

1. Things are forerun by mind, have mind as best, are compounds of the mind.^{1*}

If with corrupted mind a man do speak, or act,
therefrom ill follows him as wheel the foot of drawing (beast).

2. Things are forerun by mind, have mind as best, are compounds of the mind.*

If with a mind serene a man do speak or act,
therefrom bliss follows him as shadow that does not depart.

3. They who (in thought) belabour this:—That man has me abused, has hurt, has worsted me, has me despoiled:—in these wrath's not allayed.

4. They who do not belabour this:—That man has me abused, has hurt, has worsted me, has me despoiled:—in them wrath is allayed.
-

* Ground 1.

¹ For a criticism of Messrs. Barua and Mitra's linking this sentiment with the Chāndogya Upanishad (in their *Prakrit Dhammapada*) see my *Introd.*, p. xvi. Such link as there is lies between both the passages and the growing Sāṅkhya vogue. There is far closer linkage with the Upanishadic teaching revealed in other verses. See *infra*, references in footnotes.

5. Na hi verena verāni sammatīdha¹ kudācanaṃ,
Averena ca sammanti; esa dhammo sanantano.
-

6. Pare ca na vijānanti: mayam ettha yamāmase,
ye ca tattha vijānanti, tato sammanti medhagā.
-

7. Subhānupassiṃ viharantaṃ indriyesu asaṇvutaṃ
bhojanamhi amattaññuṃ kusitaṃ hīnavīriyaṃ
taṃ ve pasahati² Māro vāto rukkhaṃ va dubbalaṃ.

8. Asubhānupassiṃ viharantaṃ indriyesu susaṇvutaṃ
bhojanamhi ca mattaññuṃ saddhaṃ āradhaviīriyaṃ
-

9. Anikkasāvo kāsāvaṃ yo vatthaṃ paridahessati³
apeto damasaccena, na so kāsāvaṃ arhati.

10. Yo ca vantakasāv' assa sīlesu susamāhito
upeto damasaccena sa ve kāsāvaṃ arhati.
-

¹ F., Br sammant' idha.

² Br F. pasahati.

³ Br paridahissati.

5. Nay,¹ not by wrath are wrathful moods allayed here
(and) at any time,
but by not-wrath are they allayed: this is an (ageless)
endless thing.
-

6. People do not discern that here we straitened are
(in life, in time),²
but they who herein do discern, thereby their quarrels
are allayed.
-

7. Whoso abides with eye alert for beauty,
unrestrained in sense, in food immoderate,
slothful, inert: that man does Māra sway, as wind the tree
that's weak.

8. Whoso abides with eye alert for what is foul,
in senses well restrained, in eating temperate,
trusting and having energy stirred up:
that man Māra* sways not, no more than tree the mountain
crag.
-

9. Whoso (himself) not clean of stain will don the
yellow-stained robe,
Forth-goer he from state of training, unfit he to wear
the yellow.

10. But whoso may have vomited (all) stain, on morals
well intent,
Upgoer he to state of training, fit is he to wear the
yellow.
-

* Grounds 1, 12 (Introd., p. xxxi f.).

¹ The frequency in Pali verse of the particle *hi* is possibly due in part to metrical convenience. But, like *have, ve*, if not so emphatically, it has the effect of giving weight to what follows. Cf. the *Amen, dico vobis* of the Gospels. If it precede explanatory matter, 'for' is a possible rendering. Cf. Fausböll's *enim*.

² The Pali line is found only here and in *Pss. of the Brethren*, verse 275. Cf. my note there, and *ib.* on p. xlvii.

11. Asāre sāramatino sāre cāsāradassino
te sāraṇ nādhigacchanti micchāsankappagocarā.

12. Sāraṇ ca sārato ñatvā asāraṇ ca asārato
te sāraṇ adhigacchanti sammāsankappagocarā.

13. Yathā agāraṇ¹ ducchannaṇ vuṭṭhi samativijjhati,
evaṇ abhāvitaṇ cittaṇ rāgo samativijjhati.

14. Yathā agāraṇ succhannaṇ vuṭṭhi na samativijjhati,
evaṇ subhāvitaṇ cittaṇ rāgo na samativijjhati.

15. Idha socati, pecca socati, pāpakārī ubhayattha
socati,
so socati, so vihaññati, disvā kammakiliṭṭham
attano.

16. Idha modati, pecca modati, katapuñño ubhayattha
modati,
so modati, so pamodati, disvā kammavisuddhim
attano.

17. Idha tappati, pecca tappati, pāpakārī ubhayattha
tappati,
pāpam me katan ti tappati, bhiyyo tappati dug-
gatiṇ gato.

¹ Br F. yathā agāraṇ, and in 14.

11. They who deem core in not-core, yea, and they
who see not-core in core, they go not on
into the core, their range is wrong intent.
12. But they who know core as core and not-core as
not-core,
they go on into core, their range is right intent.
-
13. As through the ill-roofed house rain penetrates,
so passion penetrates the mind where is no growth.¹
14. As well-roofed house rain does not penetrate,
so passion penetrates not mind where is good
growth.¹
-
15. Here doth he mourn, gone onward doth he mourn,
both here and there the evil-doer mourns.
'Tis the same man² who mourns, who's crushed,
in that he sees the deed-defilement of the self.
-
16. Here he rejoices, gone onward rejoices too;
worker of merit doth rejoice both here and there.
'Tis the same man rejoices and exults,
in that he sees deed-purity of the self.
-
17. Here suffers he, gone onward suffers he;
doer of evil suffereth both here and there.
At thought: Ill have I wrought! he suffers (here);
gone to the woeful bourn he suffers more.
-

¹ Lit. '[not] well-made-to-become.'

² Metrical convenience may here again have dictated; yet it is overlooked by translators and Buddhists generally, how so, 'this one,' is used in the Suttas for utmost emphasis in questions of personal identity. *E.g.*, 'is it true that one and the same man does the deed and experiences the result?' . . . *so karoti, so paṭisaṇvedeti?*

18. Idha nandati, pecca nandati, katapuñño ubhayattha
nandati,
puññam me katan ti nandati, bhīyo nandati
suggatiṃ gato.
-

19. Bahum pi ce sahitaṃ bhāsamāno, na takkaro hoti
naro pamatto,
gopo va gāvo gaṇayaṃ paresaṃ, na bhāgavā sāmāñ-
ñassa hoti.

20. Appam pi ce sahitaṃ bhāsamāno, dhammassa hoti
anudhammacārī
rāgaṃ ca dosaṃ ca pahāya mohaṃ sammappajāno su-
vimuttacitto
anupādiyāno idha vā huraṃ vā, sa bhāgavā sāmāññassa
hoti.

I. YAMAKAVAGGO PAṬHAMO.

II. APPAMĀDAVAGGO.

21. Appamādo amatapadaṃ, pamādo maccuno padaṃ,
appamattā na mīyanti, ye pamattā yathāmatā.
-

18. Here is he pleased, gone onward is he pleased;
 worker of merit feeleth glad both here and there.
 At thought: By me is merit wrought! glad is he
 (here);
 gone to the lucky bourn he is more glad.
-
19. Though he say much that's proper, yet the man
 is wanton if his actions ill accord.
 Like cowherd counting kine of other men,
 partaker is he not in holy life.
20. Though he say little that is proper, yet if he
 by dharma walk, of passion, hate and dulness rid,
 rightly intelligent, his mind well freed,
 not grasping after either earth or yonder,*
 partaker is that man in holy life.
-

II. SERIOUSNESS.¹

21. To be serious is the way to the immortal,
 To be wanton is the way the mortal (takes):
 The serious (become) not (as) the dying;
 The wanton are as men already dead.
-

* Cf. Ground 5.

¹ The Pali is a negative term from the root *mad*, to be wanton, excited, drunk, mad (Pali and Italian coincide in *matto*, the past participle). Earnestness would come as near as my choice, but exact rendering is impossible. Cf. verse 19.

22. Etaṇ viṣeṣato¹ ñatvā appamādamhi paṇḍitā
appamāde pamodanti ariyānaṇ gocare ratā.
23. Te jhāyino sātatikā niccaṇ dalhaparakkamā
phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṇ yogakkhemaṇ anuttaraṇ.
-
24. Uṭṭhānavato satimato² sucikammassa nisammakā-
rino³
saṇyātassa ca dhammajīvino appamattassa yaso
'bhivaḍḍhati.
-
25. Uṭṭhānen' appamādena saṇyāmena⁴ damena ca
dīpaṇ kayirātha⁵ medhāvi yaṇ ogho nābhikīrati.⁶
-
26. Pamādam anuyuñjanti bālā dummedhino janā,
appamādañ ca medhāvi, dhaṇaṇ seṭṭhaṇ⁷ va rak-
khati.
27. Mā pamādam anuyuñjetha. Mā kāmaratisanthavaṇ.
appamatto hi jhāyanto pappoti vipulaṇ sukhaṇ.
-

¹ P.Kh. viṣeṣadha=(?) viṣeṣattaṇ.

² Br F. satimato.

³ P.Kh. °carino.

⁴ Br saṇyāmena.

⁵ F. kayrātha.

⁶ P.Kh. divu karoti medhavi ya jara nabhimardati.

⁷ P.Kh. seṭhi.

22. The wise in seriousness have come to know
this as a thing that's different, (select),
and in this seriousness they make them joy,
loving the range of true-aristocrats.
23. They who are musers constantly
and ever stoutly forward press;
men well-inspired,¹ they come to touch
the Waning, peace after the toil.²
-
24. Is a man strenuous, does he reflect,
doer deliberate of the pure deed,
is he controlled, of righteous life,
the fame of him exceeding grows.
-
25. By strenuousness, by seriousness
and by control and training too
an island should the man sagacious make,
not to be scattered by the flooding spate.
-
26. The simpletons, the unsagacious folk
are ever given o'er to wantonness.
Wardeth his seriousness sagacious man,
(wardeth) as wealth in which is highest worth.³
27. Never be given o'er to wantonness,
nor intimacy in love of sense-desire.
The serious musers verily
to happiness abundant wins.
-

¹ On *dhīra*, see Index.

² For earlier and later values in *yoga*, cf. verses 209, 282 with 417, etc.

³ Or, as rich man doth his chiefest treasure ward. See P.Kh.

28. Pamādaṇ appamādena yadā nudati paṇḍito,
paññāpāsādam āruyha asoko sokiniṇ paṇaṇ
pabbataṭṭho va bhummaṭṭhe dhīro bāle avekkhati.

29. Appamatto pamattesu suttesu bahujāgaro
abalassaṇ va sīghasso¹ hitvā yāti sumedhaso.

30. Appamādena Maghavā devānaṇ seṭṭhataṇ² gato.
appamādaṇ pasaṇsanti, pamādo garahito sadā.

31. Appamādarato bhikkhu pamāde bhayadassi vā
saṇyojanaṇ anuṇ thūlaṇ, dahanṇ aggī va gacchati.

32. Appamādarato bhikkhu pamāde bhayadassi vā
abhabbo parihānāya nibbānass' eva santike.

II. APPAMĀDA-VAGGO DUTIYO.

¹ P.Kh. bhadra' asu.

² P.Kh. samidhi.

28^(b) (c). Mbh. xii, 151, 12; Mil. 387. Cf. D. ii, 39; S. i.

30. Jāt. No. 31; S. i, 229, 239.

32. A. ii, 40; Itv. § 45; Mil. 408.

28. When the wise man by seriousness
doth drive away (the mood of) wantonness,
as one mounting to wisdom's terraced roof,
griefless, grief-smitten humankind surveys,
as would a man more worthy, standing on
the hill, the simpletons who stand upon the plain.

29. Serious among the wanton,
very watchful 'mong the sleepers,
man sagacious fares as swift horse,
leaves behind him horse that's weaker.

30. Through seriousness the Maghavant¹
to highest rank of devas went.
Seriousness (the devas) praise;
the wanton man is always blamed.

31. The monk who's fain for seriousness,
or peril sees in wantonness,
burning the fetter thin or thick,
goes on his way as (were he) fire.²

32. The monk who's fain for seriousness,
or peril sees in wantonness,
not his, 'Becomer,' is't to fall away;
near to the very Waning he.*

* Ground 10. Cf. Introduction, p. xviii f.

¹ On this name for Sakka, cf. *Jātaka*, No. 31; *K.S.* i, 300 f.

² Cf. *K.S.* i, 94 f.; *Sakya*, p. 336. Contrast the monastic dread in verses 202, 251.

III. CITTAVAGGO.

33. Phandanaṃ capalaṃ cittaṃ, dūrakkaṇṇaṃ, dunnivā-
rayaṃ,
ujuṃ karoti medhāvī, usukaro va tejanaṃ.

34. Vārijo va thale khitto, okamokata ubbhato
pariphandati 'daṃ cittaṃ Māradheyyaṃ pahātave.

35. Dunniggahassa lahuṇo yatthakāmanipātino
cittassa damatho sādhu, cittaṃ dantaṃ sukhāvahaṃ.

36. Sududdasaṃ sunipunaṃ, yatthakāmanipātinaṃ
cittaṃ rakkhetha medhāvī, cittaṃ guttaṃ sukhā-
vahaṃ.

37. Dūrangamaṃ ekacaraṃ asarīraṃ guhāsayaṃ
ye cittaṃ saṃyamessanti, mokkhanti Mārabandhanā.

38. Anavatṭhitacittassa saddhammaṃ avijānato
pariplavapasādassa paññā na paripūrati.

III. THE MIND.

33. Restless and wavering the mind,
hard both to guard and to restrain.
The man sagacious makes (it) straight,
as fletcher makes the arrowshaft.

34. As water-creature flung on land
(when) drawn from this home or from that,
twitches-and-writhes this mind about
from realm of Māra to be rid.*

35. Of mind hard to coerce, buoyant,
and there alighting where it lists,
good is the training; trained mind
the bringer is of happiness.

36. Sore hard to see and very fine,
the mind, alighting where it lists,
the man sagacious holds in ward;
the guarded mind brings happiness.

37. The mind far-going, lone faring,
not of the body, of hidden lair,
whoso will keep under control
from Māra's jail they'll be set free.*

38. In him whose mind unstable stands,
of his own dharma unaware,
in him whose trust is fluctuate,
wisdom is not at its full worth.

* Ground 12. 'Māra nowhere occurs' in P.Kh. fragments.

39. Anavassutacittassa ananvāhatacetaso
puññapāpahīnassa natthi jāgarato bhayaṇ.

40. Kumbhūpamaṇ kāyam imaṇ viditvā
nagarūpamaṇ cittaṃ idaṇ thapetvā
yodhetha¹ Māraṇ paññāvuḍhena,
jitaṇ ca rakkhe, anivesano siyā.

41. Aciraṇ vat' ayaṇ kāyo paṭhaviṇ adhisessati
chuddho apeta viññāno, niratthaṇ va kalingaraṇ.

42. Diso disaṇ yaṇ taṇ kayirā² verī vā pana verinaṇ,
micchāpanihitaṇ cittaṇ pāpiyo naṇ tato kare.

43. Na taṇ mātā pitā kayirā, aññe vāpi ca ñātakā,
sammāpanihitaṇ cittaṇ seyyaso naṇ tato kare.

III. CITTAVAGGO TATIYO.

IV. PUPPHAVAGGO.

44. Ko imaṇ³ paṭhaviṇ vijessati,⁴ Yamalokaṇ ca imaṇ
sadevakaṇ ?
ko dhammapadaṇ sudesitaṇ, kusalo puppham iva
pacessati ?

¹ F. yojetha. ² F. kayrā. ³ B^r ko 'maṇ. ⁴ B^r vicessati.

39. In him whose mind is not (sense-)moist,
in whom intent is not confused,
who is of sin and merit rid,
for him alert, there is no fear.
-
40. Like to a jar if you have wot the body,
like to a stronghold if you've set the mind,
you may fight Māra with the arm of wisdom,
and conquered, ward, an you no respite give.
-
41. Ere long indeed this body on the earth will lie
cast down, with mind gone hence, like useless log.
-
42. What foe may do to foe, hater
to him he hates, yet worse the mind
wrong-aimed may do unto the man.¹
-
43. The (deed)² that mother, father could not do,
nor other kinsfolk—better (far) than they
that (deed) the mind can do that is well aimed.
-

IV. FLOWERS.

44. Who is this man who will discern this earth
and this, the Watchers' world, the devas' (home) ?
Who will appraise a verse (though 't be) well shown
on (his own) dharma, as expert the flower ?

¹ Lit. him.² Comy. *Kāraṇaṇ*.

45. Sekho¹ paṭhaviṇ vijessati,² Yamalokañ ca imaṇ sade-
vakaṇ.
sekho¹ dhammapadaṇ sudesitaṇ, kusalo puppham
iva pacesati.

46. Phenūpamaṇ kāyam imaṇ viditvā,
marīcidhammaṇ abhisambudhāno,
chetvāna Mārassa papupphakāni,³
adassanaṇ Maccurājassa gacche.

47. Pupphān' h' eva pacinantaṇ vyāsattamanasaṇ⁴
naraṇ
suttaṇ gāmaṇ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchati.

48. Pupphāni h' eva pacinantaṇ vyāsattamanasaṇ naraṇ
atittaṇ yeva kāmesu antako kurute vasaṇ.

49. Yathāpi bhamaro pupphaṇ vaṇṇagandhaṇ aheṭha-
yaṇ
paleti rasam ādāya, evaṇ gāme muniṇ care.

50. Na paresaṇ vilomāni, na paresaṇ katākataṇ
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni ca.

¹ P.Kh. budhu.

³ B^r sapupphakāni.

² B^r vicesati.

⁴ B^r vyāsattamānasaṇ.

45. The learner 'tis who will discern this earth
and this, the Watchers' world, the devas' (home).
The learner will appraise a verse, well shown (it is),
on (his own) dharma, as expert the flower.
-

46. Like unto foam if you have wot this body,
as mirage-thing well understanding it,
the flower-tipped darts of Māra breaking off,
you may go where the death-king sees you not.*
-

47. The man with stagnant mind, appraising only
flowers,
as mighty flood a village sunk in sleep,
death gathers him and goes his way.
-

48. The man with stagnant mind, appraising only
flowers,
insatiate ever in his sense-desires,
End-maker brings under his sway.
-

49. Just as a bee, not harming flower
in hue or fragrance, flies away
the nectar taking, even so
the sage should through the village go.
-

50. Not things by others in the wrong way done,
not things by others done or left undone—
'tis things which by the self are done
or left undone that you should contemplate.
-

* Ground 12.

51. Yathāpi ruciraṇ pupphaṇ vaṇṇavantaṇ agandhakaṇ,
evaṇ subhāsītā vācā aphalā hoti akubbato.

52. Yathāpi ruciraṇ pupphaṇ vaṇṇavantaṇ sagandha-
kaṇ,¹
evaṇ subhāsītā vācā saphalā hoti kubbato.

53. Yathāpi puppharāsīmḥā kayirā² mālāgune bahū
evaṇ jātena maccena kattabbaṇ kusalaṇ bahuṇ.

54. Na pupphagandho paṭivātam eti,
na candanaṇ, tagaraṇ³ mallikā vā,
sataṇ ca gandho paṭivātam eti,
sabbā disā⁴ sappuriso pavāti.⁵

55. Candanaṇ tagaraṇ vāpi uppalaṇ atha vassikī
etesaṇ gandhajātānaṇ silagandho anuttaro.

56. Appamatto ayaṇ gandho yāyaṇ tagaracandaṇi⁶
yo ca sīlavataṇ gandho vāti devesu uttamo.

57. Tesāṇ sampannasīlānaṇ appamādavihāriṇaṇ
sammadaññā-vimuttānaṇ Māro maggaṇ na vindati.

¹ Br sugandhakaṇ.

³ C. C. F. tagaramallikā.

⁵ Br pavāyati.

² Br kariyā. F. kayrā.

⁴ Br sabbadisā.

⁶ Br tagaracandanaṇ.

51. Just as a flower lovely in hue (but) odourless,
so speech well uttered fruitless is in him who acts
not (in accord).

52. Just as a flower lovely in hue (and) odorous,
so speech well uttered fruitful is in him whose
act (is in accord).

53. Just as from flower-heap one may make a many
garland-wreaths,
so by the mortal come to birth¹ is there much good
that he can do.

54. Odour of flowers goes not against the wind,
not sandalwood, rosebay, nor jessamine;
but scent o' the pious goes against the wind;
the very man² suffuses all the world.

55. Sandalwood, rosebay and lotusflower,
ay, and the greater jessamine:—o'er these
live odours odour of virtue (is) supreme.

56. A little thing this odour, even this
of rosebay and of sandalwood.
That which is odour of the pious men
wafts among devas (fragrance) unsurpassed.

57. To men who rich in virtue, of serious lives,
by insight rightly freed, Māra finds not the way.

¹ It is rare to find surviving a saying showing rebirth as an opportunity in becoming.

² See Introduction, p. xxxv.

58. Yathā sankāradhānasmiṃ ujjhitasmiṃ mahāpathe
padumaṃ tattha jāyetha sucigandhaṃ manoramaṃ.

59. Evaṃ sankārabhūtesu andhabhūte¹ puthujjane
atirocati² paññāya Sammāsambuddhasāvako.

IV. PUPPHAVAGGO CATUTTHO.

V. BĀLAVAGGO.

60. Dīghā jāgarato ratti, dīghaṃ santassa yojanaṃ,
digho bālānaṃ saṃsāro saddhammaṃ avijānataṃ.

61. Caraṇ ce nādhigaccheyya seyyaṃ sadisam attano
ekacariyaṃ³ dāhaṃ kayirā, natthi bāle sahāyatā.

62. Puttā m' atthi dhanam m' atthi iti bālo vihaññati.
attā hi attano natthi. Kuto puttā? Kuto dha-
naṃ?

63. Yo bālo maññati bālyaṃ paṇḍito vāpi tena so,
bālo ca paṇḍitamānī sa ve bālo ti vuccati.

¹ Br andhībhūte.

² P.Kh. abhi°.

³ F. ekacariyaṃ. Br ekaccariyaṃ.

58. Just as on heap of scourings cast aside
on the main road a lotus there may spring
pure-scented, full of charm,
59. So 'mong the folk who as the scourings are,
the blinded manyfolk, by wisdom shines
brightly disciple of the rightly wake.*
-

V. THE YOUNG-AND-FOOLISH.¹

60. Long to the watcher is the night;
long to the weary is the league;
long to the fools the wayfaring,
of their own dharma unaware.
-
61. If as he fare, he fail to come upon
one better than, or equal to himself,
let him lone-faring bravely go;
with fool there is no comradeship.
-
62. Sons own I! Wealth own I! and so
the foolish man is worried sore.
The self in sooth owns not the self:—
how then the sons? how then the wealth?
-
63. The fool who his own folly doth appraise
is none the less a wise man just in that.
But fool who in his own conceit is wise,
he verily is one men call a fool.
-

* Ground 3; Introduction, p. xxx.

¹ *Bāla* means both.

64. Yāvajīvam pi ca bālo paṇḍitaṇ payirupāsati,¹
na so dhammaṇ vijānāti dabbī sūparasaṇ yathā.

65. Muhuttam api ce viññū paṇḍitaṇ payirupāsati,
khippaṇ dhammaṇ vijānāti jivhā sūparasaṇ yathā.

66. Caranti bālā dummedhā amitten' eva attanā
karontā pāpakaṇ kammaṇ yaṇ hoti kaṭukapphalaṇ.

67. Na taṇ kammaṇ kataṇ sādhu yaṇ katvā anutappati,
yassa assumukho rodaṇ vipākaṇ paṭisevati.

68. Tañ ca kammaṇ kataṇ sādhu yaṇ katvā nānutap-
pati,
yassa patīto sumano vipākaṇ paṭisevati.

69. Madhuvā² maññati bālo yāva pāpaṇ na paccati,
yadā ca paccatī pāpaṇ atha [bālo] dukkhaṇ nigac-
chatī.

70. Māse māse kusaggena bālo bhuñjetha³ bhojanaṇ,
na so sankhatadhammānaṇ kalaṇ agghati⁴ soḷasiṇ.

¹ F. payrupāsati.

³ B^r bhuñjeyya.

² B^r madhū 'va. F. mādhuva.

⁴ F. S^c S^d Cⁿ nāgghati.

66. Netti, 131.

66-68. S. i, 57.

70. Cf. Uttarādhyayana, ix, 44 (*Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E. xlv, p. 39).

67. Netti, 132.

69. Cf. S. i, 85.

64. Though all his life the fool on wise man wait,
no more he dharma knows than spoon the taste of
soup.
-
65. Though but a moment ware-man wait upon the
wise,
swiftly he's ware of dharma as is tongue of taste of
soup.
-
66. Fools short of wit fare with the self as foe,
doing ill deeds wherefrom bitter the fruit.
-
67. Not well done is the deed which having done
hereafter he repents, and the result,
weeping, with tearful face he undergoes.
-
68. But well done is the deed which having done
he afterwards repents not, the result
whereof pleased and glad he undergoes.
-
69. Sweet deems the fool his ill-deed while it ripens
not,
but when it ripens he goes down to woe.
-
70. Month after month the foolish man may make
his meal of food on tip of kusha grass;¹
that man's not worth a sixteenth part of them
who well have taken things into account.
-

¹ The line is quoted in Theragāthā Comy., see *Pss. Brethren*, p. 180.

71. Na hi pāpaṇ katan kammaṇ sajju khīraṇ va muccati,
dahan taṇ bālaṇ anveti, bhasmacchanno va pāvako.

72. Yāvadeva anattāya ñattaṇ bālaṇ jāyati,
hanti bālaṇ sukkaṇsaṇ muddham assa vipātayaṇ.

73. Asataṇ bhāvanam¹ iccheyya, purekkhāraṇ ca bhikkhusu,
āvāsesu ca issariyaṇ, pūjā parakulesu ca.

74. Mam' eva kata maññantu gihī pabbajitā ubho,
mam' evātivasā assu kiccākiccesu kismici
iti bālaṇ sankappo, icchā māno ca vaḍḍhati.

75. Aññā hi lābhūpanisā, aññā nibbānagāminī,
evam etaṇ abhiññāya, bhikkhu Buddhasa sāvako
sakkāraṇ nābhinandeyya, vivekaṇ anubrūhaye.

V. BĀLAVAGGO PAÑCAMO.

¹ Br asantabhāvanam. F. asataṇ bhāvan iccheyya.

71. Truly no more than milk curdles (forthwith,
ripens) the deed ill done; burning it dogs
the fool, as fire ash-covered (wakes when blown).
-

72. When to his harm the fool develops skill,
it smites the top of him bashing his head.
-

73. Unreal estate he may desire,
to take the lead among the monks,
in monasteries mastery,
honour 'mong others' families.
74. Let laymen deem that this was done by me,
and clerics too! Let them defer to me
in aught that is to do or not to do!
Such is the aspiration of the fool;
his wishes grow and likewise his conceit.*
-

75. One is the course t'ward gain; but other is
the Way to Waning going. When this well
he knows, the almsman, Buddha-follower
in worldly favours should no more delight;
he should develop life in solitude.†
-

* Ground 8.

† Ground 6.

VI. PAṆḌITAVAGGO.

76. Nidhīnaṇ va pavattāraṇ yaṇ passe vajjadassinaṇ,
niggayhavādiṇ medhāviṇ tādisaṇ paṇḍitaṇ bhaje.
tādisaṇ bhajamānassa seyyo hoti na pāpiyo.

77. Ovadeyyānusāseyya, asabbhā ca nivāraye.
sataṇ hi so piyo hoti, asataṇ hoti appiyo.

78. Na bhaje pāpake mitte, na bhaje purisādhame.
bhajetha mitte kalyāṇe, bhajetha purisuttame.

79. Dhammapīti sukhaṇ seti vippasannena cetasā.
ariyappavedite¹ dhamme sadā ramati paṇḍito.

80. Udaṇaṇ hi nayanti nettikā.
usukārā namayanti tejanaṇ.
dāruṇaṇ namayanti tacchakā.
attānaṇ damayanti paṇḍitā.

¹ F. ariyappavedite.

VI. THE WISE MAN.

76. As one who tells of hoardings is the man
whom one may see showing what things to shun,
sagacious censurer; a man so wise as this
one should frequent, frequenting such a man
'tis better one becomes, not worse.

77. Let him exhort, let him instruct,
let him deter from what is wrong.
'Tis to the pious that man dear
becomes, to impious men not dear.

78. Thou shouldst not evil friends frequent;
thou shouldst not baser men frequent.
Lovely the friends thou shouldst frequent,
thou shouldst frequent the best of men.

79. Drinker of dharma¹ happily he rests,
and with a purpose made serene.
Mandate of true aristocrats,²
in dharma wise-man aye delights.

80. Water in sooth the conduit-makers guide,
arrow-makers bend forthright the point,
timber woodcraftsmen bend forthright,
the self (it is) the wise men train.³

¹ The author of *Milindapañha* expands this: *dharmmanagare sonḍā pipāsā*, p. 345. Cf. my *Milinda Questions*, p. 143.

² See verse 22.

³ = verse 145.

81. Selo yathā ekaghaṇo vātena na samīrati,
evaṇ nindāpaṇṣāsu na samiñjanti paṇḍitā.
-
82. Yathāpi rahado¹ gambhīro, vippasanno, anāvilo,
evaṇ dhammāni sutvāna vippasīdanti paṇḍitā.
-
83. Sabbattha ve sappurisā cajanti,² na kāmakāmā
lapayanti santo.
sukhena phutṭhā athavā dukhena, na uccāvacarṇ³
paṇḍitā dassayanti.
-
84. Na attahetu, na parassa hetu, na puttam icche, na
dhanarṇ, na raṭṭharṇ,⁴
nayicche adhammena samiddhim attano, sa sīlavā,
paññavā, dhammiko siyā.
-
85. Appakā te manusseṣu ye janā pāragāmino,
athāyaṇ itarā pajā tīram evānudhāvati.
-
86. Ye ca kho sammadakkhāte dhamme dhammānu-
vattino,
te janā pāram essanti, maccudheyyarṇ suduttararṇ.
-

¹ F. rhado.² F. vajanti.³ F. n' uccāvacarṇ.⁴ P.Kh. pavani kamani samayarea.

81. Like to a rock that's of one mass,
and by the wind unshook,
e'en so by praises or by blame
unmovèd are the wise.
-
82. Just like a lake deep, clear, serene,
whenas they things in dharma¹ hear,
wise men become serene, composed.
-
83. On every side the genuine men let go;
not, as for pleasures fain, make clamour holy men.
When touched by gladness or maybe by woe,
the wise men make no show of ups and downs.
-
84. Not for the self, nor yet for sake of other
should one wish son, wealth, or estate;²
let him not for the self desire success
counter to dharma; let him be
virtuous, wise, a (very) dharma-man.
-
85. Few among men are they, the folk who go to the
Beyond.
This other race is it who just run up and down the
strand.
-
86. But they who, when dharma has rightly been
revealed, by dharma hold upon their way,
these folk will come unto the shore beyond—
(crossing) the realm of death so hard to cross.
-

¹ *Dhammāni*; *dhmmo* as neuter plural, is so rare that it is strange no work known to me comments on it. The Comy. has only *dhm-mādesanā*. I hold it more probable we have here an Asokan form of the masculine accusative plural. Cf. Hultsch's Asokan Edicts.

² Or, should one accomplish actions that are evil (cf. opposite).

87. Kaṇhaṇ dhammaṇ vippahāya sukkaṇ bhāvētha
paṇḍito
okā ānokaṃ āgama, viveke yattha dūramaṇ,
88. Tatrābhiraṭim iccheyya. Hitvā kāme, akiñcano,
paryodaṭṭeyya attānaṇ cittaṃklesehi paṇḍito.
89. Yesaṇ sambodhiyaṅgesu sammā cittaṇ subhāvitaṇ,
Ādānapaṭiṇissagge anupādāya ye ratā,
Khīṇāsavā jutimanto te loke parinibbutā.

VI. PAṇḌITAVAGGO CHAṬṬHO.

VII. ARAHANTAVAGGO.

90. Gataddhino visokassa vippamuttassa sabbadhi
Sabbaganthappahīnassa parilāho na vijjati.
91. Uyyuñjanti satīmanto, na nikete ramanti te,
haṇṣā va pallalaṇ hitvā okāṃ okāṇ jahanti te.

87. Leaving the worser¹ dharma the wise man
should make the better¹ dharma come to be;
from home into the homeless having come,
in solitude not easy to enjoy,
88. there let him wish exceeding great delight;
rid of sense-pleasures, man who nothing owns
and wise, he should wholly and utterly
from mind-defilements purify the self.
89. In whom, in factors of enlightenment
rightly the mind's been made to grow,
not taking (things), surrendering (what they have),
they who delight in grasping not at all,
with āsavas all wilted, radiant ones,
they in the world have waned utterly.*
-

VII. ARAHANS.

90. For him who is a Wayman, rid of grief,
on every hand set free, all bonds cast off,
feverishness for him does not exist.
-
91. They who are mindful inwardly strive forth
in effort, nor find joy in fixed-abode,
as swans quitting (in upward flight) the fen,
home after home abandoning they go.
-

* Grounds 10, 16.

¹ Lit. 'dark' and 'bright': a common spiritual distinction.

92. Yesaṇ sannicayo natthi, ye pariññātabhojanā,
suññato animitto ca vimokho¹ yesaṇ gocaro,
ākāse va sakuntānaṇ gati tesāṇ durannayā.

93. Yassāsavā parikkhinā, āhāre ca anissito,
suññato animitto ca vimokho yassa gocaro,
ākāse va sakuntānaṇ padaṇ tassa durannayaṇ.

94. Yass' indriyāni samathangatāni,
assā yathā sārathinā sudantā,
pahīnamānassa anāsavassa
devāpi tassa pihayanti tādino.

95. Paṭhavisamo no virujjhati,
indakhilūpamo tādi subbato,
rahado va apetakaddamo,
saṅsārā na bhavanti tādino.

96. Santaṇ tassa manaṇ hoti, santā vācā ca kamma ca,
sammadaññā vimuttassa upasantassa tādino.

97. Assaddho akataññū ca sandhicchedo ca yo naro
hatāvakāso vantāso sa ve uttamaporiso.

¹ Br vimokkho.

92. They for whom (worldly) store is not, who understand
the body's needs, the men whose range is in
the void, th' unmarked, in liberty,*
as bourn of birds in air so hard it is
to trace whither those men are bound.
-
93. The man in whom the āsavas are dried up,†
who not on food relies; whose range is in
the void, th' unmarked, in liberty,*
as bourn of birds in air so hard it is
to trace whither that man will go.
-
94. In whom the senses have become composed,
like steeds well broken by the charioteer,
by whom conceit is put away, in whom
the āsavas are not:‡ such man as this
devas themselves are longing for to see.
-
95. The earth resembling, he doth not resent,
to Indra's column comparable he,
so pious pure, as pool that's rid of mud,
for him life's ups and downs come not to pass.
-
96. Holy the mind of him, holy the speech
and deed of him who, having rightly known,
is one that is released, is sanctified.
-
97. The man who taking (naught) on trust,
has come to know what men sense not,
who every link (with life) has cut,
with opening crushed, with longing spewed,
he is indeed the man supreme.‡
-

* Ground 11.

† Ground 16.

‡ Grounds 4, 5.

98. Gāme vā yadi vāraññe ninne vā yadi vā thale
yatthārahanto viharanti taṇ bhūmiṇ rāmaṇeyyaṇaṇ.

99. Ramaṇiyāni araṇṇāni, yattha na ramatī jano,
vītarāgā ramissanti, na te kāmagavesino.

VII. ARAHANTAVAGGO SATTAMO.

VIII. SAHASSAVAGGO.

100. Sahassam api ce vācā anattapadasaṇhitā,
ekaṇ atthapadaṇ seyyo yaṇ sutvā upasammati.

101. Sahassam api ce gāthā anattapadasaṇhitā
ekaṇ gāthāpadaṇ seyyo yaṇ sutvā upasammati.

102. Yo ca gathāsataṇ bhāse anattapadasaṇhitā,¹
ekaṇ gāthāpadaṇ seyyo yaṇ sutvā upasammati.

103. Yo sahassaṇ sahasseṇa sangāme mānuse jine,
ekaṇ ca jeyya² attānaṇ sa ve³ sangāmajuttamo.

¹ Br °saṇhitaṇ. ² F. jeyya-m-attānaṇ. ³ P.Kh. ho (kho).

98. S. i, 233; Tha. 991. 98^(a). Cf. A. i, 281; Jāt. iii, 169, 229.

99. Tha. 992. 100-115. Mvst. iii, 434 ff.

103. =Uttarādhy. ix, 34 (*Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E. xlv, 38).

98. In village, in the wild, in vale, on hill,
wherever men of worth, the arahans,
their dwelling make, delightful is that spot.
-
99. Delightful are the forests, where the folk
come not to take their pleasure, there will they,
all lusts evicted, find their joy;
not seekers they for sense-satiety.
-

VIII. MANY IN NUMBER.

100. Better than speech of thousand words, to weal
unsuited, is a single welfare-word,
which in the man who hears leads on to calm.
-
101. Better than poems of a thousand words, to weal
unsuited, is a single line of verse,
which in the man who hears leads on to calm.
-
102. Better than he who hundred verses should recite,
to weal unsuited, single strophe is
which in the man who hears leads on to calm.
103. Compared with him who bests in fight
a thousand and a thousand more,
he who should best the one—the self—
he sure's the chiefest warrior.
-

104. Attā have jitaṇ seyyo yā cāyaṇ itarā pajā,
attadantassa posassa niccaṇ saṇyatacārino.
105. N' eva devo, na gandhabbo, na Māro saha Brah-
munā,
jitaṇ apajitaṇ kayirā tathārūpassa jantuno.
106. Māse māse sahasseṇa yo yajetha sataṇ samaṇ,
ekaṇ ca bhāvitattānaṇ muhuttam api pūjaye—
sā yeva pūjanā seyyo yaṇ ce vassasataṇ hutaṇ.
107. Yo ca vassasataṇ jantu aggiṇ paricare vane,
ekaṇ ca bhāvitattānaṇ muhuttam api pūjaye—
sā yeva pūjanā seyyo yaṇ ca vassasataṇ hutaṇ.
108. Yaṇ kiñci yiṭṭhaṇ ca hutaṇ ca loke
Saṇvaccharaṇ yajetha puññapekho¹
Sabbam pi taṇ na catubhāgam eti—
Abhivādanā ujjugatesu seyyo.²
109. Abhivādanasīlissa³ niccaṇ vaddhāpacāyino
cattāro dhammā vadḍhanti: āyu, vaṇṇo, sukhaṇ,
balaṇ.

¹ Br pekkho.² S° seyyā.³ K. silassa.

104. The self, in truth ! a better victory this
than what these other people (fain would win),
of him, the man, who with the trained self,
walks ever with (the self) controlled.
105. Not even deva nor the man who bringeth luck,
nor Māra with a Brahmā could unmake
the victory by such a person won.
-
106. A man might offerings make month after month,
during a century, of a thousand (gifts),
but should he for a moment venerate
one man in whom the self developed is,¹
better a veneration such as this
than what is offered for a hundred years.
-
107. A person for a century may tend
the (sacred) fire in (sacrificial) grove,
but should he for a moment venerate
one man in whom the self developed is,¹
better a veneration such as this
than what is offered for a hundred years.
-
108. Whatso the man who merit quests
yearlong has offered in this world,
or sacrificed, not e'en all that
amounts to but a farthing-worth—
better the homage paid to upright men.
-
109. In one habitually reverent,
ever his elders honour rendering,
four things increase: the length of life,
comeliness, happiness and strength.
-

¹ Lit. made-to-become; the causative of *bhū*, become.

110. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve dussīlo asamāhito,
ekāhaṇ jīvitaṇ seyyo sīlavantassa jhāyino.

111. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve duppañño asamāhito,
ekāhaṇ jīvitaṇ seyyo paññāvantassa jhāyino.

112. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve kusīto hīnavīriyo,
ekāhaṇ¹ jīvitaṇ seyyo viriyaṇ ārabhato daḥhaṇ.

113. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve apassaṇ udayavyayaṇ,
ekāhaṇ¹ jīvitaṇ seyyo passato udayavyayaṇ.

114. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve apassaṇ amataṇ padaṇ,
ekāhaṇ jīvitaṇ seyyo passato amataṇ padaṇ.

115. Yo ca vassasataṇ jīve apassaṇ dhammam uttamaṇ,
ekāhaṇ jīvitaṇ seyyo passato dhammam uttamaṇ.

VIII. SAHASSAVAGGO AṬṬHAMO.

-
110. Better than living for a hundred years
the life immoral, (mind) not concentrate,
were it to live but for a single day
as man of moral life, as musing man.
-
111. Better than that he live a hundred years
(a life) unwise, (the mind) not concentrate,
were it to live but for a single day
as man of wisdom, as the musing man.
-
112. Better than that he live a hundred years
a sluggish (life of) energy sunk low,
were it to live but for a single day
as man of strongly stirred up energy.
-
113. Better than that he live a hundred years
not seeing how things wax and wane,
were it to live but for a single day
as man who sees the waxing and the wane.
-
114. Better than that he live a hundred years
unseeing the immortal worth,¹
were it but for a single day to live
with seeing of th' immortal worth.
-
115. Better than that he live a hundred years
unseeing dharma unsurpassed,
were it to live but for a single day
while seeing dharma unsurpassed.
-

¹ Cf. Introduction, p. vii.

IX. PĀPAVAGGO.

116. Abhittharetha kalyāṇe, pāpā cittaṇ nivāraye.
dandhaṇ hi karoto puññaṇ pāpasmiṇ ramatī mano.

117. Pāpañ ce puriso kayirā,¹ na taṇ kayirā punap-
punaṇ.
na tamhi chandaṇ kayirātha.² Dukkho pāpassa
uccayo.

118. Puññañ ce puriso kayirā, kayirāth' enaṇ punap-
punaṇ.
tamhi chandaṇ kayirātha. Sukho puññassa uc-
cayo.

119. Pāpo pi passati bhadrāṇ yāva pāpaṇ na paccati.
yadā ca paccati pāpaṇ [atha] pāpo pāpāni passati.

120. Bhadro pi passati pāpaṇ yāva bhadrāṇ na paccati.
yadā ca paccati bhadrāṇ [atha] bhadro bhadrāni
passati.

121. Māppamaññetha pāpassa: na man taṇ āgamissati,
udabindunipātena udakumbho pi pūrati.
bālo pūrati pāpassa thokathokam pi āciṇaṇ.

¹ Br kariyā. F. kayrā.

² F. kayrātha. Br kariyathā.

IX. EVIL.

116. Make ye good haste in lovely (deed);
from evil (deed) repel the mind;
for when a man slow does what's good,
dallies his thought with what is bad.
-
117. If e'er a man work evil (deed),
work he it not again, again;
nor let him work desire in it:
woeful of evil the up-pile.
-
118. If e'er a man work worthy (deed),
let him work it again, again;
and let him work desire in it:
happy of worthy deed the up-pile.
-
119. Even a man in evil plight sees luck
so long as evil luck does not mature,
but when the evil thing matures, why, then
the man in evil plight sees evil things.
120. Even a lucky man sees evil plight (ahead)
so long as lucky plight does not mature;
but when the lucky plight matures, why, then
the man in lucky plight sees lucky things.
-
121. Hold evil not in little worth, nor say
to me this will not come. Even the waterjar
by drip of waterdrops is fillèd up;
is fillèd up with evil, foolish man,
e'en though but bit by bit he builds the pile.
-

122. Māppamaññetha puññassa: na man taṇ āgamis-
sati,
udabindunipātena udakumbho pi pūrati,
dhīro pūrati puññassa thokathokam pi āciṇaṇ.

123. Vāṇijo va bhayaṇ maggaṇ appasattho mahad-
dhano,
visaṇ jīvitukāmo va, pāpāni parivajjaye.

124. Pānimhi ce vaṇo nāssa, hareyya pāṇinā visaṇ
nābbaṇaṇ vīsaṇ anveti, n' atthi pāpaṇ akubbato.

125. Yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati
suddhassa posassa anangaṇassa,
tam eva bālaṇ pacceti¹ pāpaṇ,
sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṇ va khitto.

126. Gabbham eke upajjanti, nirayaṇ pāpakammīno,
saggaṇ sugatino yanti, parinibbant' anāsavā.

127. Na antalikkhe, na samuddamajjhe, na pabbatānaṇ
vivaṇaṇ pavissa,
na vijjati so jagatippadeso, yatraṭṭhito² na muñ-
ceyya pāpakammā.

¹ F. paṭietti.

122^(a). Cf. Jāt. iii, 169.

125. S. i, 13; 164; Sn. 662; Jāt. iii, 203; P.V. 24.

126. Mvst. ii, 424.

127, 128. Mil. 150. Divyā. 532.

122. Hold worthy deed not small in worth, nor say
to me this will not come. Even the waterjar
by drip of waterdrops is fillèd up;
is filled with worthy (deeds) the man of worth,
e'en though but bit by bit he builds the pile.
-
123. As trader scantily escorted, rich in goods,
(avoids) a way of peril, as one fain
to live, a poison-drug, so let a man
avoid entirely evil things.
-
124. If in the hand there be no wound, a man
may carry poison in his hand; as, where
no wound is present, poison dogs him not,
evil comes not to man who none has wrought.
-
125. Whoso offendeth unoffending man,
a person pure without a flaw (in 's worth),
back to that fool the very evil comes,
like fine dust that is thrown against the wind.
-
126. Earth-life befalls some men; downfall,
doers of evil; to the lucky bourn
wellfarers go; they who are rid
of āsavas wane utterly.*
-
127. Not in the air, nor middle of the sea,
nor in hill-cave could a man waygate find,
nor in earth-faring is there any spot
where halting he from evil deed could 'scape.
-

* Grounds 10, 16.

128. Na antalikkhe, na samuddamajjhe, na pabbatānaṃ
vivaṇṇaṃ pavissa,
na vijjatī so jagatippadeso, yatraṭṭhitaṃ¹ nappasa-
hetha maccu.

IX. PĀPAVAGGO NAVAMO.

X. DAṄḌAVAGGO.

129. Sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbe bhāyanti maccuno,
attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya, na ghātaye.

130. Sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbesaṃ jīvaṇṇaṃ piyaṃ,
attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya, na ghātaye.

131. Sukhakāmāni bhūtāni yo daṇḍena vihiṇṣati,
attano sukham esāno, pecca na labhate sukhaṃ.

132. Sukhakāmāni bhūtāni yo daṇḍena na hiṇṣati,
attano sukham esāno, pecca so labhate sukhaṃ.

¹ F. Cⁿ yattha°.

128. Not in the air, nor middle of the sea,
nor in hill-cave could a man waygate find,
nor in earth-faring is there any spot
where he might halt beyond the power of death.
-

X. THE ROD.

129. All men shrink from the rod, all men fear death;
Making the self the type, let him not smite,
nor let him cause another man to strike.
-
130. All men shrink from the rod, to all men life is dear:
making the self the type, let him not smite,
nor let him cause another man to strike.
-
131. Whoso wreaks injury with rod
on creatures fain for happiness,
when for the self hereafter he seeks happiness,
not his, it may be, happiness to win.
132. Who wreaks no injury with rod
on creatures fain for happiness,
when for the self hereafter he seeks happiness,
that very man may happiness attain.
-

133. Mā 'voca¹ pharusañ kañci, vuttā paṭivadeyyu taṇ.
dukkhā hi sārambhakathā, paṭidaṇḍā phuseyyu
taṇ.
134. Sace neresi attānaṇ kaṇso upahato yathā,
esa patto 'si nibbānaṇ, sārambho te na vijjati.
-
135. Yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaraṇ,
evaṇ jarā ca maccū ca āyuṇ pācenti pāṇinaṇ.
-
136. Atha pāpāni kammāni karaṇ bālo na bujjhati,
sehi kammehi dummedho, aggidaḍḍho va tappati.
-
137. Yo daṇḍena adaṇḍesu appadutṭhesu dussati,
dasannam aññataraṇ ṭhānaṇ khippam eva nigac-
chati:
138. Vedanaṇ pharusañ jāniṇ, sarīrassa ca bhedanaṇ,
garukaṇ vāpi ābādhaṇ, cittakkhepaṇ ca pāpunaṇ,
139. Rājato vā upassaggaṇ, abbhakkhānaṇ ca dāruṇaṇ,
parikkhayaṇ ca ṇatīnaṇ, bhogānaṇ ca pabhaṅgu-
raṇ,²
140. Athavāssa agārāni aggi ḍahati pāvako,
kāyassa bhedaṇ duppañño nirayaṇ sopapajjati.
-

¹ F.2d. Sk vo ca.² Br F. Cⁿ pabhaṅgunaṇ.136^(a). Tha. 146.138^(b). Cf. M. i, 237.

133. Speak not harsh words to any man, (for) they
you so accost may like rejoinder make.
Ill verily is talk provocative;
blows given in return may light on you.¹
134. If you keep self from moving, like a gong
that's broken, lo! 'tis you have won the state
of waning; naught of quarrel lies in you.*
-
135. As with a staff the herd drives kine to graze,
so age and death drive life of breathing things.
-
136. Whenas a fool is working evil deeds,
not wake is he; together with his deeds
he poor in sense is burnt as by a fire.
-
137. Who hurts with rod the men who use no rod,
who men in whom is no offence offends,
quickly he goes down to one plight in ten:
138. Sore suffering, waste, to body injury,
or sickness dire, mind-tossing he may get,
139. Molesting from the king, arraignment sharp,
calamity to kin, or loss of wealth,
140. Or else the thunderbolt consumes his house,
and, body broke, th' unwise is born in hell.
-

* Grounds 10, 15.

¹ Cf. the finer motive in the modern poem (Freiligrath's *O lieb so lang du lieben kannst und magst*): 'Wound not in words your fellow-man lest you hurt his heart, viz. the man in him.'

141. Na naggacariyā¹ na jaṭā na pankā
nānāsakā thaṇḍilasāyikā vā
rajo va jall' ukkuṭṭikappadhānaṇ
sodhenti maccaṇ avitinnakankaṇ.
-
142. Alankato ce pi samañ careyya
santo danto niyato brahmacāri
sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṇ
so brāhmaṇo, so samaṇo, sa bhikkhu.
-
143. Hirinisedho puriso koci lokasmi vijjati,
so² nindaṇ appabodhati asso bhadro kasāṃ iva.
-
144. Asso yathā bhadro kasānivittṭho
ātāpino saṇvegino bhavātho.³
saddhāya silena ca viriyena ca
samādhinā dhammavinicchayena ca
sampannavijjācaraṇā patissatā⁴
pahassatha⁵ dukkhāṃ, idaṇ anappakaṇ.
-
145. Udaṇaṇ hi nayanti nettikā.
usukārā namayanti tejanaṇ.
dāruṇaṇ namayanti tacchakā.
attānaṇ damayanti subbatā.

X. DAṆḌAVAGGO DASAMO.

¹ F. caryā.² Cⁿ yo.³ Br bhavattha.⁴ Br patissatā.⁵ Br jahissatha.

141. Cf. Sn. 249.

142. Divyā. 339; 142^(c). Sn. 35; cf. below 405; 142^(c, d). Mvst.
iii, 412.

143. Cf. Uttarādhy., p. 3.

145. =80 q.v.

141. Not naked wont, not matted hair, not dirt,
not fasting, not the bare ground as a bed,
not dusty smear, nor squatting on the calves
can cleanse the mortal, victim to desire.

142. Though smartly garbed, if he walk piously,
peaceful, well-cultured and controlled,
walking in God, toward every living thing
the tools of violence laying aside,
he is a brahman, he recluse, he monk !

143. Is there in all the world a man restrained
by modesty, 'tis he who blame forestalls,
as thoroughbred (anticipates) the whip.¹

144. As thoroughbred attent to (touch of) whip,
become ye ardent, (yea, and) sensitive.
By faith, by morals and by energy,
by concentration and the dhamma-rede,
in wisdom and good conduct rich, within
intent, yours will it be to rid (yourselves)
of ill: this (look you) is no little thing.

145. For conduit-men the water guide,
fletchers shape the dart,
timber the woodcraftsmen shape;
the pious train the self.²

¹ Cf. *Sanyutta*, i, 7 (I, 2, § 8): 'like horse at whip'—i.e., says the Comy., 'on seeing (cast by the sun behind) the shadow of the whip or goad.'

² Rendered a little otherwise than in verse 80.

XI. JARĀVAGGO.

146. Ko nu hāso ? Kim ānando, niccaṇ pajjalite sati ?
andhakārena onaddhā padipaṇ na gavessatha ?¹

147. Passa cittakataṇ bimbaṇ arukāyaṇ samussitaṇ
āturaṇ bahusankappaṇ, yassa n' atthi dhuvaṇ ṭhiti.

148. Parijīṇṇam idaṇ rūpaṇ, rogaṇidḍhaṇ, pabhanguraṇ,
bhijjati pūtisandeho, maraṇantaṇ hi jīvitaṇ.

149. Yāni 'māni apatthāni alāpūn' eva sārade
kāpotakāni atṭhīni, tāni disvāna kā rati ?

150. Atṭhīnaṇ nagaraṇ kataṇ, maṇsalohitalepanaṇ,
yattha jarā ca maccū² ca māno makkho ca ohito.

151. Jīranti ve rājarathā sucittā,
atho sarīram pi jaraṇ upeti.
sataṇ ca³ dhammo na jaraṇ upeti,
santo have sabbhi pavedayanti.

¹ Br gavesatha.

² Cⁿ maccu.

³ P.Kh. tu.

146. Mvst. iii, 376.

148^(b) (second half). S. i, 97.

149. Divyā. 561.

151. Cf. S. i, 71; Jāt. v, 483.

147. M. ii, 64; Tha. 769.

150. Manu. vi. 76.

XI. OLD AGE (DECAY).

146. How now, wouldst laugh ? What ? Happy be,
when (all) is ever but ablaze ?
(How is't that) smothered in the dark,
ye've made no quest for any lamp ?
-

147. Behold the tricked out puppet, heap of sores,
framework diseased, (object) of many aims,
whereof nothing doth last, naught doth persist !
-

148. Worn out this shape is, of diseases nest,
brittle (it is), a rotting congeries;
truly a dying ending hath (this) life.
-

149. Like to those gourds men cast aside,
in autumn are these dove-grey bones;
for whom when seen have they a lure ?
-

150. A city 'tis of bones, rough-cast with flesh
and blood, wherein old age and death, wherein
conceit and cant are (all) deposited.*
-

151. The king's well-painted chariots wear out;
like them the body too goes to decay;
but in the pious dharma ageth not;
lo ! good men make it known among the good.
-

* Ground 1.

152. Appassutāyaṇ puriso balivaddo va jīrati.
maṇṣāni tassa vaḍḍhanti, paññā tassa na vaḍ-
ḍhati.

153. Anekajātisaṇsāraṇ sandhāvissaṇ anibbisaṇ
gahakāraṇ¹ gavesanto, dukkhā jāti punappunaṇ.

154. Gahakāraka ! diṭṭho 'si, puna gehaṇ na kāhasi.
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā, gahakūṭaṇ visankhitaṇ.
visankhāragataṇ cittaṇ taṇhānaṇ khayam ajjhagā.

155. Acaritvā brahmacariyaṇ, aladdhā yobbane dhanaṇ,
jinnakoñcā va jhāyanti khīnamacche va pallale.

156. Acaritvā brahmacariyaṇ, aladdhā yobbane dhanaṇ,
senti cāpâtikhīnā 'va purāṇāni anutthunaṇ.²

XI. JARĀVAGGO EKĀDASAMO.

XII. ATTAVAGGO.

157. Attānañ ce piyaṇ jaññā, rakkheyya naṇ surak-
khitaṇ.
tinnaṃ aññataraṇ yāmaṇ paṭijaggeyya paṇḍito.

¹ Br gahakāraṇ.

² For anutthunantā, *Comy.*

153, 154. Tha. 183 f.; cf. 78.

157. Cf. Brh. Up. I, 4, 8; 2, 4; 4, 5; S. i, 76.

152. Look at this man; of learning scant
 he grows old like an ox;
 flesh on him waxes here and there;
 wisdom in him grows not.
-

153. Faring through many births I've run for naught,
 seeking the maker of the house. Woeful
 is birth again, again. . . .

- Ha ! thou art seen,
154. housemaker ! ne'er again a house thou'lt make;
 thy rafters all are broken, the ridge-beam
 is shattered . . . lo ! the mind has lost its plans,
 to waning of all cravings has attained.*
-

155. Where no God-life is led, nor in their youth
 was treasure gained, like herons grown infirm
 o'er perished fish in shallow pool, they brood.

156. Where no God-life is led, nor in their youth
 was treasure gained, like bows unstrung they lie,
 bewailing things that now are past and gone.
-

XII. THE SELF (THE SPIRIT).

157. If a man as precious know the self,
 him as thing well warded should he ward;
 in one or other of the watches three
 (o'er him) the wise man should his vigil keep.
-

* Grounds 4, 5. For a suggested original see *Gotama the Man*,
 p. 162.

158. Attānam eva paṭhamañ patirūpe nivesaye.
ath' aññam anusāseyya, na kilisseyya paṇḍito.

159. Attānañ ce tathā kayirā¹ yath' aññam anusāsati.
sudanto vata dametha, attā hi kira duddamo.

160. Attā hi attano nātho, ko hi nātho paro siyā ?
attanā hi sudantena nāthañ labhati dullabhañ.

161. Attanā va² katañ pāpañ, attajañ, attasambhavañ,
abhimanthati³ dummedhañ, vajirañ⁴ v' asmamayañ
maññ.

162. Yassa accantadussilyañ, mālūvā sālam iv' otthatañ,⁵
karoti so tath' attānañ, yathā nañ icchatī diso.

163. Sukarāni asādhūni, attano ahitāni ca,
yañ ve hitaṇ ca, sādhuṇ ca, tañ ve paramaduk-
karañ.

¹ Br kariyā. F. kayrā.

² Br hi.

³ Br F. Cⁿ abhimathati.

⁴ F. vajrañ.

⁵ F. mālūvā . . . otatañ. Kh.P. malua va vitata vani.

158. The self it is the wise should settle first
in what is seemly; then may he instruct
another; then would he not worsened be.
-
159. If he would make the self so (to become)
as he instructs another man to be,
well-trained i' faith let him (set out) to train,
for hard to train, so say they, is the self.¹
-
160. The self in sooth protector is of self,
how, sooth, protector can another be ?
'Tis by the self in sooth well-trained that he
wins a protector that is hard to win.
-
161. Evil that's wrought by self, self-born, self-caused,
grinds to powder that evil, senseless man,
as adamant (will grind) the hard(est) gem.
-
162. In whom is wickedness unlimited,
as sāl-tree by a creeper overspread,
he makes the self to be no other than
his enemy would wish him (to be made).
-
163. Easy to do are things unseemly, and to self
unhealthy; truly that which healthy is
and seemly—sooth 'tis hardest thing to do.
-

¹ Cf. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, i, No. XII (*Dialogues*, i, p. 294).

164. Yo sāsanaṃ arahataṃ, ariyānaṃ, dhammajivinaṃ
paṭikkosati dummedho, diṭṭhiṃ nissāya pāpikaṃ.
phalāni kaṭṭhakass' eva attaghaññāya phallati.

165. Attanā va kataṃ pāpaṃ, attanā sankilissati
attanā akataṃ pāpaṃ, attanā va visujjhati.
suddhī asuddhī paccattaṃ, nāñño aññaṃ visodhaye.

166. Attadatthaṃ paratthena bahunāpi na hāpaye,
attadattham abhiññāya sadatthapasuto siyā.

XII. ATTAVAGGO DVĀDASAMO.

XIII. LOKAVAGGO.

167. Hinaṃ dhammaṃ na seveyya, pamādena na saṃ-
vase.
micchādiṭṭhiṃ na seveyya,¹ na siyā lokavaddhano.

168. Uttiṭṭhe, nappamajjeyya, dhammaṃ sucariṇaṃ care.
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

¹ P.Kh. roy[e]a=roceyya.

164. Who unsagacious, teaching of the saints,
the men of worth, the dharma-followers
abuses, he because of evil views
engenders, like the fruit of kāṣṭha reed,
a crop to the undoing of the self.
-
165. 'Tis by the self evil is done, 'tis by the self
one comes to grief; 'tis by the self evil is left
undone; 'tis by the self a man is purified;
the pure, the impure, this is of the self;
one man cannot another purify.
-
166. Let no man worsen welfare of the self
for weal of other man however great !
when he weal of the self has come to know,
let him pursue intent that very weal.¹
-

XIII. WORLDS.

167. He should not follow dharma that is low,
nor with a wanton heedlessness consort;
he should not follow theories that are wrong;
he should not grower be in worldliness.
-
168. He should arise, he should not heedless be,
by dharma of well-faring let him fare.
Happy the dharma-farer lives,
both in this world and in the next.
-

¹ Cf. *Gradual Sayings*, i, Introduction, p. ix (3).

169. Dhammaṇ care sucaritaṇ. Na naṇ duccharitaṇ
care.
dhammacārī sukhaṇ seti asmiṇ loke paramhi ca.

170. Yathā bubbulakaṇ passe, yathā passe marīcikaṇ,
evaṇ lokaṇ avekkhantaṇ maccurājā na passati.

171. Etha, passath' imaṇ lokaṇ cittaṇ rājarathūpamaṇ,
yattha bālā visidanti; n' atthi sango vijānataṇ.

172. Yo ca¹ pubbe pamajjitvā, pacchā so nappamajjati,
so imaṇ lokaṇ pabhāseti,² abbhā mutto va candimā.

173. Yassa pāpaṇ kataṇ kammaṇ kusalena pithīyati,
so imaṇ lokaṇ pabhāseti, abbhā mutto va candimā.

174. Andhabhūto ayaṇ loko, tanuk' ettha vipassati,
sakunto jālamutto va appo saggāya gacchati.

175. Haṇṣādiccapathe yanti, ākāse yanti iddhiyā,
niyanti dhīrā lokamhā jetvā Māraṇ savāhanaṇ.

¹ P.Kh. tu.

² P.Kh. ohaseti.

170². Cf. S. iii, 140 f.; Sn. 1119; K.V. 6.

172. M. ii, 104; Tha. 871.

173. M. ii, 104; Tha. 872. 173^(b) = 382^(b).

169. By dharma of well-faring let him fare;
not that which is ill-faring let him fare.
Happy the dharma-farer lives
both in this world and in the next.
-
170. As 'twere (but) froth he saw, as 'twere mirage he saw:
when he the world so contemplates,
the death-king (passing) sees him not.*
-
171. Come ye and look upon this world,
gaudy as chariot of a king,
wherein the foolish folk sink down;
no hold is there for them who know.
-
172. Who in the past has wanton been,
and later no more wanton is,
he makes this world to shine as bright
as does the moon set free from cloud.
-
173. Who evil deed with good one covers,
he makes this world to shine as bright
as does the moon set free from cloud.
-
174. Blinded this world is; little here one sees;
as bird that from a net makes its escape,
'tis few that go to world of lucky doom.
-
175. Swans travel in the pathway of the sun;
in air men travel by abnormal work;
the men inspired forth-travel from the world,
o'ercome for them is Māra and his mount.†
-

* Ground 4.

† Ground 12.

176. Ekaṇ dhammaṇ atītassa musāvādissa jantuno
vitinṇaparalokassa n' atthi pāpaṇ akāriyaṇ.
-

177. Na ve kadariyā devalokaṇ vajanti.
bālā have nappasaṇsanti dānaṇ.
dhīro ca dānaṇ anumodamāno,
ten' eva so hoti sukhī parattha.
-

178. Pathavyā ekarajjena saggassa gamanena vā
sabbalokādhipaccena sotāpattiphalāṇ varaṇ.

XIII. LOKAVAGGO TERASAMO.

XIV. BUDDHAVAGGO.

179. Yassa jitaṇ nāvajiyati, jitaṇ no yāti koci loke,
taṇ Buddham anantaḡocaraṇ apadaṇ kena padena nessatha ?
180. Yassa jālini visattikā taṇhā n' atthi kuhiñci netave,
taṇ Buddham anantaḡocaraṇ apadaṇ kena padena nessatha ?
-

176. Itv., § 25.

179, 180. Cf. Mvst. iii, 91, 92; cf. Jāt. i, 313.

180. S. i, 107.

176. For man, who e'en one duty overrides,
 whose words are false, has with another world
 No truck, there is naught bad he may not do.
-

177. Nay, niggards fare not to the deva-world;
 in giving, foolish men find naught to praise;
 but man inspired giving accepts with thanks;
 'tis just by this that the same man
 becomes in worlds else-whither well.
-

178. Than sole dominion in the earth,
 than going to the happy land,
 than lordship over all the worlds,
 better is progress in the Stream.¹
-

XIV. BUDDHA ('WAKE').*

179. Whose victory is not turned to defeat,
 to conquer whom no one on earth sets out,
 Buddha, (the wake), whose range is infinite,
 him-of-no-way by what way will ye lead ?
180. For whom she who ensnares, embroils,
 'craving,' no whither is where she may lead,
 Buddha, (the wake), whose range is infinite,
 him-of-no-way by what way will ye lead ?
-

* Ground 14.

¹ Lit. 'fruit (realization) of attainment in the Stream'—i.e. the Way (*Sanyutta*, v, 347).

181. Ye jhānapasutā dhīrā nekkhammūpasame ratā,
devāpi tesaṃ pihayanti¹ sambuddhānaṃ satīmataṃ.
-
182. Kiccho manussapaṭilābho, kicchaṃ maccāna jīvitaṃ,
kicchaṃ saddhammasavaṇaṃ, kiccho Buddhānaṃ uppādo.
-
183. Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasampadā,
sacittapariyodapaṇaṃ,² etam Buddhāna sāsanaṃ.
-
184. Khanti paramaṃ tapo, titikkhā nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti
Buddhā,
na hi pabbajito parūpaghātī, na samaṇo hoti paraṃ vihe-
ṭṭhayaṇto.
185. Anūpavādo, anūpaghāto, pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro,
mattaññutā ca bhattasmiṃ panthaṃ ca sayanāsanaṃ
adhicitte ca āyogo etam Buddhāna sāsanaṃ.
-
186. Na kahāpaṇavassena titti kāmesu vijjati.
appassādā dukkhā kāmā iti viññāya paṇḍito.
187. Api dibbesu kāmesu ratiṃ so nādhigacchati,
taṇhakkhayaṇato hoti sammāsambuddhasāvako.
-
188. Bahuṃ ve saraṇaṃ yanti pabbatāni vanāni ca
ārāma-rukkha-cetyāni manussā bhayatajjitā,

¹ F. pihenti.² F. paryodapaṇaṃ. B^r pariyodāpaṇaṃ.

183. D. ii, 49; cf. Netti, 43, 81, 171, 186; Mvst. iii, 420.

184. D. ii, 49.

185. D. ii, 49; Ud. iv, 6.

186. M. i, 130; Vin. ii, 25; Thī. 487; Divyā. 224.

-
181. They who inspired are much to musing given,
glad in surmounting, glad in their giving up,
for these the very devas longing feel,
Buddhas, (the wake), the inwardly alert.
-
182. Hard is't to win birth as a man,
hard is the life that mortals (lead);
hard Very Dharma is't to hear;
hard is't for Buddhas to appear.
-
183. Not doing aught that's wrong;
accomplishing of good;
with purging of the mind:
so do the Buddhas teach.
184. Patience is the austerity supreme,
forbearance is the waning-out supreme: the Buddhas say.
For never world-exile another harms
(ne'er) as recluse another injuring.
185. Not an abuser, not reviler,
restraint according to the Code,
in eating moderation and the lonely couch,
and study in the higher thought:
so do the Buddhas teach.
-
186. Not by a rain of coins contentment comes
in sense-desires; but faintly sweet, (nay) ill
are sense-desires: thus, knowing (them), the wise.
187. Not fain even for deva-sense-desires
comes he to be; for wane of craving fain
hearer becomes of Very Buddha-Man.
-
188. To many refuges¹ men verily
betake themselves when peril makes afeared;
to hills and woods, to gardens, trees and shrines.
-

¹ On *sarāṇa* see below, p. xlv f.

189. N' etaṇ kho saraṇaṇ khemaṇ, n' etaṇ saraṇam uttamaṇ,
n' etaṇ saraṇam āgama sabbadukkhā pamuccati.
190. Yo ca Buddhaṇ ca Dhammaṇ ca Sanghaṇ ca saraṇaṇ gato,
cattāri ariyasaccāni sammappaññāya passati.
191. Dukkhaṇ, dukkhasamuppādaṇ, dukkhassa ca atikkamaṇ,
ariyaṇ c' aṭṭhaṅgikaṇ maggaṇ dukkhûpasamagāminaṇ.
192. Etaṇ kho saraṇaṇ khemaṇ, etaṇ saraṇam uttamaṇ,
etaṇ saraṇam āgama sabbadukkhā pamuccati.
-
193. Dullabho purisâjañño na so sabbattha jāyati,
yattha so jāyati dhiro, taṇ kulaṇ sukham edhati.
-
194. Sukho Buddhānaṇ uppādo, sukhā saddhammadesanā,
sukhā sanghassa sāmaggī, samaggānaṇ tapo sukho.
-
195. Pūjārahe pūjayato Buddhe yadi va sāvake.
papañcasamatikkante tiṇṇasokapariddave,
196. Te tādise pūjayato nibbute, akuto bhaye,
na sakkā puññaṇ¹ saṅkhātuṇ im' ettam api kena ci.

XIV. BUDDHAVAGGO CUDDASAMO.

PAṬHAMAKABHĀNAVĀRAṆ.

¹ K. Cⁿ puñña.

189. Nay, this refuge no haven is.
nay, this refuge is not supreme.
Not when to this refuge he's come
is he from every ill set free.
190. Whoso has to the refuge gone
of Buddha, Dhamma and of Church,
four worthy truths by fitting wisdom sees;
191. Ill and the genesis of Ill, and what
transcending is of Ill, and worthy way
eightfold that goes to the surmounting Ill:
192. Lo! this refuge a haven is, lo! this
is the refuge supreme; to this refuge
when come is he from every ill set free.
-
193. Hard is't to get a man that's thoroughbred;
not everywhere comes such a man to birth;
where such a man inspired is born,
that family thrives happily.
-
194. Happy the coming of the Buddhas is!
happy when Very Dharma is the guide!
happy the concord in community!
happy the life-austere of those at one!
-
195. For him who reverence pays to them
of reverence worthy, whether they
be Buddhas or be followers,
transcenders of all worldliness,
traversers of all grief and woe,
196. For him who reverence pays to them,
thus waned and for whom is no fear,
is merit that may not be gauged
by any man as such and such.*
-

XV. SUKHAVAGGO.

197. Susukhaṇ vata jīvāma verinesu averino,
verinesu manussesu viharāma averino.
198. Susukhaṇ vata jīvāma āturesu anāturā,
āturesu manussesu viharāma anāturā.
199. Susukhaṇ vata jīvāma ussukesu anussukā,
ussukesu manussesu viharāma anussukā.
-
200. Susukhaṇ vata jīvāma yesan no n' atthi kiñcanaṇ,
pītibhakkhā bhavissāma devā ābhassarā yathā.
-
201. Jayaṇ veraṇ pasavati, dukkhaṇ seti parājito,
upasanto sukhaṇ seti hitvā jayaparājayaṇ.
-
202. N' atthi rāgasamo aggi, n' atthi dosasamo kali,
n' atthi khandhādisā dukkhā, n' atthi santiparaṇ sukhaṇ.
-

198². Cf. Tha. 276.

200. S. i, 114; Uttarādhy. ix, 14 (S.B.E. 45, 37).

201. S. i, 83.

202. =251, save in one pada.

XV. HAPPINESS.

197. O let us indeed live happy, 'mid haters unhating !
'mid men who hate let us dwell unhating.
198. O let us indeed live happy 'mid men unhealthy !
'mid men who are sick let us dwell healthy.
199. O let us indeed live happy 'mid strainers un-
straining !
'mid men that are straining let us dwell unstraining.
-
200. O let us indeed live happy to whom naught be-
longeth !
rapture enjoying let us become like the bright
devas.
-
201. Conquering engenders hate; the vanquished man
in woe abides;
the man serene happy abides, discarding victory
and defeat.
-
202. There is no fire that's like to lust;
there is no evil luck like hate;
there are no ills equal to those
of (human) body and of mind (cf. 251);
there is no bliss surpassing peace.*
-

* Grounds I, 9, and p. xxxv.

203. Jighacchā paramā rogā, sankhārā paramā dukhā,
etaṇ ñatvā yathābhūtaṇ, nibbānaṇ paramaṇ su-
khaṇ.

204. Ārogyaparamā¹ lābhā, santutṭhi paramaṇ dhaṇaṇ,
vissāsaparamā² ñātī,³ nibbānaṇ paramaṇ sukhaṇ.

205. Pavivekaraṇaṇ pītīvā, rasaṇ upasamassa ca,
niddaro hoti nippāpo dhammapītirasaṇ pivaṇ.

206. Sādhu dassanam ariyānaṇ,⁴ sannivāso sadā sukho,
adassanena bālānaṇ niccam eva sukhī siyā.

207. Bālasangatacārī hi dīgham addhāna socati,
dukkho bālehi saṇvāso amitten' eva sabbadā,
dhiro ca sukhasaṇvāso ñātīnaṇ⁵ va samāgamo.

¹ Br ārogyā°.

⁴ F. ariyānaṇ.

² Br vissāsā°.

⁵ P. Kh. ñātihi.

³ P. Kh. mitra.

203. Hungers are chiefest illnesses;
 toilings-and-cares¹ are chiefest ills;
 this knowing as a very fact,
 waning (becomes) the chiefest bliss.²
-
204. Health is the chiefest gain; content the chiefest
 wealth;
 trust is the chiefest kinsman; waning is chiefest
 bliss.²
-
205. Has he but savoured taste of solitude
 and taste of calm, no woe is his nor sin,
 the taste of dharma-rapture savouring.³
-
206. Good it is to see the worthy;
 happy 'tis to dwell with them;
 did one never see the foolish,
 happy would one be just ever.
-
207. For he who walks in company
 of fools long time a grieving hath;
 ill is the company of fools
 as were it ever with a foe;
 but with inspired men to consort
 is happy, like forgathering
 with them of one's own kith and kin.

¹ Cf. *μέριμναι*, Matthew vi, 25. Cf. *infra*, verse 255.

² Waning (Nibbāna) is here used, as in the Māgandiya Sutta (*Majjhima*, i, 503) in its early meaning; a negative term for 'health.'

³ Cf. verse 79.

Tasmā hi :

208. Dhīrañ ca paññañ ca bahussutañ ca,
 dhorayhasilañ¹ vatavantam ariyañ
 tañ tādisañ sappurisañ sumedhañ
 bhajetha, nakkhattapathañ va candimā.

XV. SUKHAVAGGO PAÑÑARASAMO.

XVI. PIYAVAGGO.

209. Ayoge yuñjam attānañ yogasmiñ ca ayojayañ,
 atthañ hitvā piyaggāhī pihet' attānuyoginañ.
210. Mā piyehi samāgañchi, appiyehi kudācanañ.
 piyān' adassanañ dukkhañ, appiyānañ ca dassanañ.
211. Tasmā piyañ na kayirātha, piyāpāyo hi pāpako.
 ganthā tesañ na vijjanti yesañ n' atthi piyāppiyañ.

¹ Br dhorayhañ.

209. Probably a word-play on *attā* and *atthañ*.

210. Cf. The First Utterance, Vin. i, 10; S. v, 421; Ps. ii, 147.

210-13. Uttarādhy., p. 32.

*Hence verily:*¹

208. The man inspired, the wise man and the learned man,
the dutiful, the man devout, the Ariyan:²
man such as this,³ sagacious man, yea, very man
ye should frequent, as moon the pathway of the
stars.

XVI. PRECIOUS.

209. Yoking the self to that which is no yoke,
and (self) not yoking unto what is yoke,
leaving the goal, grasping where he is fond,
(this man) may envy one yoked to the self.
210. Consort not with the men thou holdest dear,
neither with men thou hold'st not dear at any time;
woeful is 't not to see them thou holdest dear,
and (woeful) to see them thou hold'st not dear.
211. Hence let a man make no one to be dear,
for separation from the dear is bad;
no ties exist for them to whom
nothing is dear or is not dear.*

* Grounds 2, 4, 5. So *infra*.

¹ P.Kh. omits the curious gloss. It suggests an added verse, but the values anyway are old. Conceivably it has been ejected from the following line to make room for Dhīrañ ca.

² The word Ariya for saint is characteristic of later usage.

³ *Tādisa* is a later epithet for the superman.

212. Piyato jāyatī soko, piyato jāyatī bhayaṇ,
piyato vippamuttassa n' atthi soko, kuto bhayaṇ ?

213. Pemato jāyatī soko, pemato jāyatī bhayaṇ,
pemato vippamuttassa n' atthi soko, kuto bhayaṇ ?

214. Ratiyā jāyatī soko, ratiyā jāyatī bhayaṇ,
ratiyā vippamuttassa n' atthi soko, kuto bhayaṇ ?

215. Kāmato jāyatī soko, kāmato jāyatī bhayaṇ,
kāmato vippamuttassa n' atthi soko, kuto bhayaṇ ?

216. Taṇhāya jāyatī soko, taṇhāya jāyatī bhayaṇ,
taṇhāya vippamuttassa n' atthi soko, kuto bhayaṇ ?

217. Siladassanasampannaṇ, dhammaṭṭhaṇ, saccavādi-
naṇ,¹
attano kamma kubbānaṇ, taṇ jano kurute piyaṇ.

218. Chandajāto anakkhāte manasā ca phuto siyā,
kāmesu ca appaṭibaddhacitto uddhaṇsoto ti
vuccati.

219. Cirappavāsīṇ purisaṇ dūrato sotthim āgataṇ
ñātimittā suhajjā ca abhinandanti āgataṇ.

¹ *Ve.M.* saccavedinaṇ. P. Kh. sādhujiṇvano.

212. Cf. M. ii, 87.

218. Cf. Thī. 12, and 7; contexts in S. and A., one in D.

212. From (being) dear is sorrow born, born too therefrom is fear;
for one set free from holding dear, no sorrow is; whence
fear?¹
-

213. From fondness is (our) sorrow born, born too therefrom is
fear;
for one from fondness well set free, no sorrow is; whence
fear?
-

214. From being fain is sorrow born, born too therefrom is fear;
for one set free from being fain, no sorrow is; whence fear?
-

215. From sense-desire is sorrow born, born too therefrom is fear;
for one from sense-desire set free no sorrow is; whence fear?
-

216. From (sense of) craving sorrow's born, born too therefrom
is fear;
for one from craving well set free, no sorrow is; whence
fear?
-

217. Whoe'er has won to virtue and insight,
whoe'er on dharma stands and speaketh truth,²
to his own work attends: him folk hold dear.
-

218. Let but desire be born for the ineffable;
let but the mind of him therewith surchargèd be,
from sense-desires unbound: upstreamer is he
called.³
-

219. The man long absent from afar safely returned
gives joy to kinsmen, friends and well-wishers,
returned.
-

¹ Cf. for opposite source of fearlessness, Brh. 4. 2, 4; and 4. 25; Tait, 2, 4.

² P.Kh. has 'and liveth well.'

³ This fine epithet, meet for a gospel of Becoming, is applied to Dhammadinnā (*Pss. Sisters*, verse 12). Cf. A. i, 233, etc., etc.

220. Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ
puññaṇi paṭigaṇhanti, piyaṃ ñātī va āgataṃ.

XVI. PIYAVAGGO SOḬASAMO.

XVII. KODHAVAGGO.

221. Kodhaṃ jahe, vippajaheyya mānaṃ.
saññojanaṃ sabbam atikkameyya.
taṃ nāmarūpasmiṃ asajjamānaṃ
akiñcanaṃ nānupatanti dukkhā.
222. Yo ve uppatitaṃ kodhaṃ rathaṃ bhantaṃ va
dhāraye,
tam ahaṃ sārathiṃ brūmi, rasmiggāho 'taro jano.
223. Akkodhena jine kodhaṃ, asādhunā sādhunā jine,
jine kadariyaṃ dānena, saccen' ālikavādinaṃ.
224. Saccaṃ bhāṇe, na kujjheyya, dajjā 'ppasmim¹ pi
yācito,
eteḥi tihi thānehi gacche devāna santike.
225. Ahimsakā ye munayo, niccaṃ kāyena saṃvutā,
te yanti accutaṃ thānaṃ yattha gantvā na socare.

¹ B^r appampi, F. appasmi, Cⁿ appasmiṃ, *omitting* pi.

220. Thus also him, who worthy work has done and from
this world to other gone, those worthy works
receive
and welcome, as kinsfolk a dear one (safe) returned.
-

XVII. WRATH.

221. Put wrath away, put quite away conceit,
that every fetter you may get beyond;
the man who doth not cleave to name and form
ills¹ in no wise whate'er befall.
-
222. Who sooth can manage wrath uprisen, like rolling
car,
him call I charioteer, rein-holders other folk.
-
223. By no-wrath should he conquer wrath;
unworth by worth should be o'ercome;
he should o'ercome the stingy by a gift,
and by the true the man who falsely speaks.
-
224. If he say what is true, not angry be,
and though it be but little, give when asked,
for these three things 'mong devas may he go.
-
225. They who be seers, who harm no man, in body aye
controlled,
go the place where death is not, where gone they
grieve no more.
-

¹ The plural in Pali is rare, e.g. *Sutta-Nipāta*, 721.

226. Sadā jāgaramānānaṃ, ahorattānusikkhinaṃ
nibbānaṃ adhimuttānaṃ, atthaṃ gacchanti āsavā.
-
227. Porāṇam etaṃ, atula ! n' etaṃ ajjatanām iva :
nindanti tunhim āsīnaṃ, nindanti bahubhāninaṃ,
mitabhāṇinaṃ pi nindanti; n' atthi loke anindito.
228. Na cāhu, na ca hessati,¹ na c' etarahi vijjati,
ekantaṃ nindito poso, ekantaṃ vā pasaṅsito.
229. Yaṇ ce viññū pasaṅsanti anuvicca² suve suve
acchiddavuttiṃ medhāviṃ paññāsīlasamāhitaṃ.
230. Nekkhaṃ³ jambonadasseva ko taṃ ninditum ara-
hati ?
Devā pi naṃ pasaṅsanti, brahmunā pi pasaṅsito.
231. Kāyappakopaṃ rakkheyya, kāyena saṃvuto siyā.
kāyaduccaritaṃ hitvā, kāyena sucaritaṃ care.
232. Vacīpakopaṃ rakkheyya, vācāya saṃvuto siyā.
vacīduccaritaṃ hitvā, vācāya sucaritaṃ care.
233. Manopakopaṃ rakkheyya, manasā saṃvuto siyā.
manoduccaritaṃ hitvā, manasā sucaritaṃ care.

¹ P.T.S. bhavissati.² Br °vijja.³ Br nikkhaṃ.

226. In them who ever vigil keep, training by day and night,
upon the Waning wholly bent, āsavas fade away.*
-
227. An old thing this, my worthy sir; this is not of today;
men blame the silent sitter, much-talker too they
blame;
sayer of but a little's blamed; nowhere is unblamed
man.
228. Nor has there been, nor (ever) will there be,
nor yet is now a man on earth whom folk
do solely blame, nor one they solely praise.
229. But he whom wise men praise day after day,
of flawless life, sagacious, virtuous,
230. As were it censure of fine gold from Indian streams,
who's fit that man to blame? e'en devas praise
that man, nay, by a brahmā too he's praised.
231. Let there be warding 'gainst the fussy deeds;
let him in deed be well restrained,
renouncing (all) offence in deed,
let him well-faring fare in deed.
232. Let there be ward in fussy speech,
let him in speech be well restrained,
renouncing (all) offence in speech,
let him well-faring fare in speech.
233. Let there be ward in fussy thought,
let him in mind be well restrained,
renouncing (all) offence in mind,
let him well-faring fare in mind.

* Grounds 10, 16.

234. Kāyena saṅvutā dhīrā, atho vācāya saṅvutā,
manasā saṅvutā dhīrā, te ve supariṣaṅvutā.

XVII. KODHAVAGGO SATTARASAMO.

XVIII. MALAVAGGO.

235. Paṇḍupalāso va 'dāni 'si, yamapurisā pi ca taṇ¹
upaṭṭhitā.
uyyogamukhe ca tiṭṭhasi, pātheyyam pi ca te na
vijjati.
236. So karoḥi dīpam attano; khippaṇ vāyama, paṇḍito
bhava.
niddhantamalo anangaṇo dibbaṇ ariyabhūmim
ehisi.²
237. Upanītavayo ca³ 'dāni 'si; sampayāto 'si Yamassa
santike.
vāso pi ca te⁴ n' atthi antarā,⁵ pātheyyam pi ca te
na vijjati.
238. So karoḥi dīpam attano; khippaṇ vāyama, paṇḍito
bhava.
niddhantamalo anangano, na puna⁶ jāti-jaraṇ upe-
hisi.

¹ Br te.² Br upehisi.³ Cn va.⁴ Br vāso te.⁵ Br antare.⁶ F. na punaṇ.

234. Cf. M. i, 373 f.

236. Chh. 3, 13, 7; Katha, 5, 15; Svet. 6, 14; Mait. 6, 35.

238. Cf. Tha. 412.

234. In deed controlled are men inspired, and eke in
speech,
in mind controlled are men inspired, yea, they
are well controlled.
-

XVIII. FLAWS.

235. Now are you like a yellow leaf,
and Yama's men upon you wait;
you stand at journey's starting point,
and provender for you there's none.
236. Do you¹ make for the self a lamp;²
endeavour swiftly; wise become!
with flaws blown out, corruptions gone,
you'll come to devas' worthy plane.
237. Now are you brought to close of life;
to Yama's presence setting out;
no halting place between for you,
and provender for you there's none.
238. Do you make for the self a lamp;
endeavour swiftly; wise become!
with flaws blown out, corruptions gone,
no more to birth and age you'll come.
-

¹ The *So* has *tvay* (you), implicit: 'this you,' a usual emphasis.

² *Dīpay* is ambiguous; lit. as two-water, *dvi-apo*, it can mean isle or reef between waters. Lamp (from $\sqrt{dīp}$, $\sqrt{dī}$, to shine), is here, with 'no halting place' in the Way in the worlds, the probable meaning. The context in verse 25 requires the former meaning. This is more monastic, and as such is preferred by the

239. Anupubbena medhāvī thokathokaṇ¹ khane khane
kammāro rajatass' eva niddhame malam' attano.

240. Ayasā va malaṇ samuṭṭhitaṇ, tadutṭhāya tam eva
khādati,
evaṇ atidhonacārīnaṇ sakakammāni nayanti dug-
gaṭiṇ.

241. Asajjhāyamalā mantā, anuṭṭhānamalā gharā,
malaṇ vannassa kosajjaṇ, pamādo rakkhato malaṇ.

242. Mal' itthiyā duccaritaṇ, maccheraṇ dadato malaṇ,
malā ve pāpakā dhammā asmiṇ loke paramhi ca.

243. Tato malā malatarāṇ avijjā paramaṇ malaṇ,
etaṃ malaṇ pahatvāna, nimmalā hotha bhikkhavo.

244. Sujīvaṇ ahirikena,² kākasūrena, dhaṇṣinā,
pakkhandinā, pagabbhena, sankiliṭṭhena jīvitaṇ.

245. Hirīmatā ca dujjīvaṇ, niccaṇ sucigavesinā,
alīnen' appagabbhena, suddhājīvena passatā.

¹ K. thokaṇ thokaṇ.

² F. ahirī°.

239. K. v, 108.

239°. Sn. 962°.

240. Netti, 129.

241, 242, 243°. A. iv, 195.

244, 245. Cf. Jātakamālā, No. 16 (*there quoted from Āryasthāvi-
riyakanikāya*).

239. A little now a little then,
time after time, like silversmith
in silver, so flaws in the self
sagacious man may blow away.
-
240. As rust, on iron formed, when risen
that very (iron) doth consume,
so them who fare intemperate
their own deeds bring to evil bourn.
-
241. To be unuttered is the rust of mantras,
where is no rising is the rust in homes,¹
beauty by indolence is marred, the flaw
in man who wards is that he pay no heed.
-
242. The woman's flaw misconduct is,
stinginess is the donor's flaw,
flaws verily are evil things,
both in this world and in the next.
243. Than (any) flaw a greater flaw
is ignorance, the flaw supreme;
exterminating this same flaw,
become ye, monks, without a flaw !
-
244. Easy to live is life of shameless man,
crow-bully,² backbiter and (arrogant),
forward, assertive, utterly corrupt.
245. But for the modest hard is life to live,
for one who ever seeks the pure, detached,
and not assertive, pure in life, who sees.
-

¹ Cf. verse 280.² Cf. 'as saucy as a jay.'

246. Yo pānam atipāteti,¹ musāvādañ ca bhāsati,
loke adinnañ ādiyati, parādārañ ca gacchati.

247. Surāmerayapānañ ca yo naro anuyuñjati,
idh' eva-m-eso lokasmiñ mūlañ khaṇati attano.

248. Evam bho purisa !² jānāhi: pāpadhammā asaṇyatā,
mā taṇ lobho adhammo ca cirañ dukkhāya ran-
dhayaṇ.

249. Dadāti ve yathāsaddhañ, yathāpasādanañ jano,
tattha yo manku bhavati paresaṇ pānabhojane,
na so divā vā rattiṇ vā samādhim adhigacchati.

250. Yassa c' etaṇ samucchinnañ, mūlaghaccañ samū-
hataṇ,
sa ve divā vā rattiṇ vā samādhim adhigacchati.

251. N' atthi rāgasamo aggi, n' atthi dosasamo gaho,
n' atthi mohasamañ jālaṇ, n' atthi taṇhāsamā nadi.

252. Sudassaṇ vajjañ aññesaṇ, attano pana duddasaṇ,
paresaṇ hi so vajjāni opunāti yathābhusaṇ,
attano pana chādeti, kaliṇ³ va kitavā saṭho.

¹ F. K. atimāpeti.

² F. posa.

³ Br kālī vā.

246. Who ruins breathing (life), and utters lies,
takes what folk give him not, and goes to wife
of other man,

247. the man who's given o'er
to drinking heady liquors: even here,
in (this) world is he digging at the root
of (his own status, his own worth as) self.

248. Know thus, O man! 'tis evil things befall
the uncontrolled. Let not impiety nor greed
excite you to your ill long time to come.

249. Truly folk give as they believe, as they are moved;
herein whoso repines at food by others given,
to concentration never wins by day or night.

250. But he in whom this (worry) is cut out,
root-hacked and well exterminate,
he wins to concentration day or night.

251. There is no fire equal to lust,
there is no grip equal to hate,
no net equal to muddled thought,
equal to craving is no stream.¹

252. Easy to see are others' faults,
those of the self are hard to see.
Surely the faults of other men
a man doth winnow as 'twere chaff,
but (faults) o' the self he covers up
like crafty gamester losing throw.

¹ Cf. verse 202.

253. Paravajjānupassissa niccaṇ ujjhānasaññino,
āsavā tassa vaḍḍhanti, ārā so āsavakkhayā.

254. Ākāse padaṇ n' atthi, samaṇo n' atthi bāhire,¹
papañcābhiratā pajā, nippapañcā Tathāgatā.

255. Ākāse padaṇ n' atthi, samaṇo n' atthi bāhire,
sankhārā² sassatā n' atthi, n' atthi Buddhānam iñjitaṇ.

XVIII. MALAVAGGO ATTHĀRASAMO.

XIX. DHAMMAṬṬHAVAGGO.

256. Na tena hoti dhammaṭṭho yen' atthaṇ sahasā
naye,
yo ca atthaṇ anattaṇ ca ubho niccheyya paṇḍito.

257. Asāhasena dhammena samena nayatī pare,
dhammassa gutto, medhāvī dhammaṭṭho ti pavuc-
cati.

258. Na tena paṇḍito hoti yāvatā bahu bhāsati,
khemī, averī, abhayo, paṇḍito ti pavuccati.

¹ K. F. bāhiro; Br S° bāhire.

² F. creaturæ.

253. Who marks of other men the faults, in him,
 ever of captious mind, grow āsavas;
 from wane of āsavas far (yet) is he.*
-
254. In space there is no track; not outside is
 the samāṇa;† mankind are fain for thing
 wherein obstruction lies; the 'men-so-gone'
 are clear of things wherein obstruction lies.
255. In space there is no track; not outside is
 the samāṇa; eternal is no work
 of body and of mind; in Buddhas moveth naught.‡
-

XIX. ON DHARMA STANDING.

256. No man by case he settles forcibly
 is rightly one 'on dharma standing.'
 But the wise man who into both inquires
 what is the case and what is not the case—
257. In that he settles (case) of other men,
 by dharma and by justice, not by force,
 warded of dharma² that sagacious man
 is (rightly) named 'he who on dharma stands.'
-
258. Not wise a man is rated who much talks;
 the man who's safe, the man who has no hate,
 the man fearless: he goes by name of 'wise.'
-

* Ground 16.

† Ground 8.

‡ Ground 15.

¹ *Ito bahiddhā samāṇo pi n' atthi* (*Dīgha*, ii, 151) is said to have been spoken by the Founder on his deathbed to his last convert, and the Commentarial story even puts the two verses in *Dhp.* into his mouth. That he did urge the Way with his last breath is very probable; but that he should have been concerned with the 'religieux' only, as in the Way, is for me, in both works, monastic gloss.

² *Dhammassa gutto*; Comy. *dharmagutto*.

259. Na tāvatā dhammadharo yāvatā bahu bhāsati,
yo ca appam pi sutvāna, dhammaṇ kāyena passati,
sa ve dhammadharo hoti yo dhammaṇ nappamaj-
jati.

260. Na tena thero so hoti¹ yen' assa phalitaṇ siro,
paripakko vayo tassa moghajinno ti vuccati.

261. Yamhi saccañ ca, dhammo ca, ahiṇsā, saṇyamo,
damo,
sa ve vantamalo dhīro thero² ti pavuccati.

262. Na vākkaraṇamattena vannaṇapokkharatāya vā
sādhurūpo naro hoti issukī maccharī saṭṭho,

263. yassa c' etaṇ samucchinnaṇ, mūlaghaccaṇ, samū-
hataṇ,
sa vantadoso medhāvī sādthurūpo ti vuccati.

264. Na muṇḍakena samaṇo, abbato, alikaṇ bhanaṇ,
icchālobhasamāpanno samaṇo kiṇ bhavissati ?

265. Yo ca sameti pāpāni aṇuṇ thūlāni sabbaso,
samtattā hi pāpānaṇ samaṇo ti pavuccati.

¹ F. bhavati.

² F. thaviro.

259. Not by the measure of his talking much
is a man (rightly called) 'in dharma versed';
but he who, though he little learning have,
sees dharma with his act, and trifles not
with dharma: surely he 'in dharma versed'
becomes.¹

260. Not thereby 'senior' he becomes whose head is
grey;
very mature his days, but 'aged for naught' he's
called.

261. In whom is truth and dharma, and not-harm,
control and training, surely he, the man
inspired, with flaws spewed out, is 'senior' called.

262. Never by eloquence alone or comeliness
a man becomes one 'voted 'excellent,'
if he be envious, grudging, full of guile.

263. But is he one in whom these things are shorn
away, root-hacked, exterminate, this man
flaw-spewed, sagacious, 'excellent' is called.

264. Not by head shaven is he samana,
who is undutiful and utters lies;
conspicuous in wishes and in greed,
how will this man a samana become?

265. But whoso wholly evil things subdues,
both big and little, verily bad things
o'ercoming, (hence) is he called 'samana.'

¹ Here we see the externalizing of dharma checked, rebuked.
Cf. Introduction, xxix ff.

266. Na tena bhikkhu so hoti yāvatā bhikkhate pare,
vissaṇ¹ dhammaṇ samādāya bhikkhu hoti na tā-
vatā.
267. Yo 'dha puññaṇ ca pāpaṇ ca bāhetvā brahmacari-
yavā
sankhāya loke carati, sa ve bhikkhūti vuccati.
-
268. Na monena munī hoti mūlharūpo aviddasu.
yo ca tulaṇ va paggayha varam ādāya paṇḍito,
269. Pāpāni parivajjeti sa munī, tena so munī.
yo muṇāti ubho loke, munī tena pavuccati.
-
270. Na tena ariyo hoti yena pānāni hiṇsati,
ahiṇsā sabbapānānaṇ ariyo ti pavuccati.
-
271. Na sīlabbatamattena, bāhusaccena vā puna,
athavā samādhilābhena, vivicca²-sayanena vā,
272. phusāmi nekkhammasukhaṇ aputhujjanasevitaṇ;
bhikkhu vissāsamāpādi, appatto āsavakkhayaṇ.

XIX. DHAMMATTHAVAGGO EKUṆAVĪSATIMO.

¹ Br visaṇ.² Br S^c Cⁿ vivitta.

266. Not by the measure of his seeking alms
from others is he 'monk'; nor an he take
upon him dharma truly is he 'monk';
267. who here the score of merit and of sin
thrusting aside,* the God-life leads 'mong men
deliberately, lo ! he's callèd 'monk.'
-
268. Not by no words is man of worth, who is
but dull of wit and unintelligent;
but he who like a man grasping the scales
(expert in worth), the better having ta'en,¹
269. eschews the evil things:—*this* man has worth;
in that he measures has he worth; both worlds
he measures: hence he's called 'a man of worth.'
-
270. Not therefore is a man aristocrat,
in that he (any) breathing creature harms;
of every breathing creature harmer-not:
such is the man who's called 'aristocrat.'
-
271. Not by mere morals, by mere pious rite,
nor yet by learning much, nor an I win
to concentration, nor by lonely couch,
272. touch I renunciation's bliss, pursued
not by the many-folk. Monk ! have a care !
not won is yet the wane of āsavas.†²
-

* Ground 8.

† Ground 16.

¹ 'Making the better choice' had been more convenient, but I would here too insist that, in *deciding*, 'choice' and 'choosing' are never used in old Indian literature.

² We here see the *growth* in the monastic ideal.

XX. MAGGAVAGGO.

273. Maggān' atthaṅgiko seṭṭho, saccānaṇ caturo padā,
virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṇ, dipadānañ¹ ca cakkhumā,
274. eso va maggo, n' atth' añño dassanassa visuddhiyā.
etaṃhi tumhe paṭipajjatha; māraṣṣ' etaṇ pamocanaṇ.
275. Etaṃhi tumhe paṭipannā dukkhass' antaṇ karis-
satha.
akkhāto ve mayā maggo aññāya sallasanthaṇ.
276. Tumhehi kiccaṇ ātappaṇ, akkhātāro tathāgatā.
paṭipannā pamokkhanti jhāyino Mārabandhanā.
-
277. 'Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā' ti yadā paññāya passati,
atha nibbindatī dukkhe—esa maggo visuddhiyā.
278. 'Sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā' ti yadā paññāya passati,
atha nibbindatī dukkhe—esa maggo visuddhiyā.
279. 'Sabbe dhammā anattā' ti yadā paññāya passati,
Atha nibbindatī dukkhe—esa maggo visuddhiyā.
-

¹ Br, K. dvipadānañ ca. P.Kh. pranabhutana.

XX. THE WAY.

273. Of ways the eightfold is the best;¹
and of true things the stages four;
dispassion is the best of things;*
of bipeds best is he who sees.
274. This is the very Way; there is
none else for seeing purity;
herein do you a-faring go,
the way to baffle Māra this.†
275. Herein when you have faring gone
an end you'll come to make of ill;
shown surely was the Way by me,
who ease from darts had come to know.
276. 'Tis you the ardent (will) must work;
the men-so-gone but show the way;
who in their musing, as they fare,
from Māra's bonds find liberty.†

-
277. Transient is all men think and do:
when this by wisdom is discerned,
then does one turn away from ill:
this is the way to purity.‡
278. Woeful is all men think and do:
when this by wisdom is discerned,
then does one turn away from ill:
this is the way to purity.
279. Without the self men think and do:
when this by wisdom is discerned,
then does one turn away from ill:
this is the way to purity.

* Ground 10.

† Ground 12.

‡ Ground 9 and ff.

¹ It is not the subject of the Way, but the three appanages, truths, dispassion, *visuddhi*, that are to me late.

280. Utthānakālamhi¹ anutthahāno,
yuvā balī ālasiyaṇ upeto,
saṇsannasankappamano,² kusīto,
paññāya maggaṇ alaso na vindati.

281. Vācānurakkhī, manasā susaṇvuto,
kāyena ca akusalaṇ na kayirā,
ete tayo kamma pathe visodhaye.
ārādhaye maggam isippaveditaṇ.

282. Yogā ve jāyati bhūrī, ayogā bhūrisaṅkhayo
etaṇ dvedhāpathaṇ ñatvā bhavāya vibhavāya ca
tath' attānaṇ niveseyya yathā bhūri pavaḍḍhati.

283. Vanaṇ chindatha, mā rukkhaṇ, vanato jāyati bhayaṇ.
chetvā vanañ ca vanathañ ca, nibbaṇā hotha bhikkhavo.

284. Yāvaṇ [hi] vanatho na chijjati anumatto pi narassa nārisu,
paṭibaddhamano va tāva, so, vaccho khīrapāno³ va mātari.

285. Uccinda sineham attano, kumudaṇ sārādikaṇ va pāpinā,
santimaggaṇ eva brūhaya nibbānaṇ sugatena desitaṇ.

¹ P.Kh. °alasa.

² Br sampanna°. S^d saṇsatta. P.Kh. °manosmatima.

³ F. khīrapako.

280. He who at rising hour arises not,
 (though) young and strong, yet giv'n o'er to sloth,
 the purpose of his mind grown enervate,
 this man of sloth and sluggishness
 the Way by wisdom findeth not.

281. Warder continuous of word, and well
 controlled in mind, no wrong act should he do:
 these the three ways of karma should he purge,
 and progress make in Way by seers declared.

282. From earnest pondering is wisdom born,
 from lack of earnest pondering wisdom wanes:¹
 this parting of the ways when he doth know,
 by making-to-become, or the reverse,²
 he may so fix the self that wisdom grows.

283. Cut down the wood, not just a tree,
 for from the wood fear comes to birth.
 With wood and brushwood both cut down,
 woundless³ do ye become, O monks!

284. So long as brushwood's not cut down,
 cares man for woman but a jot,
 yet is he thereby bound in mind,
 as unweaned calf to mother-cow.

285. From out the self cut being fond,
 as autumn lotus with the hand;
 foster the way of holiness;
 the waning by well-farer taught.*

* Grounds 2, 10.

¹ Almost the only use, in the Sutta poems, of *yoga* in the true Indian sense of rapt musing. Cf. verse 209.

² Comy. 'by growing or by not-growing.'

³ A word-play and a poor one on *nibbāṇa-nibbāṇa*.

286. Idha vassaṇ vasissāmi,¹ idha hemantagimhisu
iti bālo vicinteti, antarāyaṇ na bujjhati.

287. Taṇ puttapasusammattaṇ, vyāsattamanasaṇ naraṇ,
suttaṇ gāmaṇ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchati.

288. Na santi puttā tānāya, na pitā n' api bandhavā,
antakenādhīpannassa n' atthi ñātisu tānatā.

289. Etam atthavasaṇ ñatvā paṇḍito sīlasaṇvuto,
nibbānagamaṇaṇ maggaṇ khippam eva visodhaye.

XX. MAGGAVAGGO VĪSATIMO.

XXI. PAKIṆṆAKAVAGGO.

290. Mattāsukhapaṇiccāgā passe ce vipulaṇ sukhaṇ,
caje mattāsukhaṇ dhīro sampassaṇ vipulaṇ su-
khaṇ.

291. Paradukkhūpadhānena attano sukham icchati,
verasaṇsaggasaṇsaṭṭho verā so na pamuccati.

¹ P.Kh. kariṣamu.

286. ' Here will I dwell in the rains;
 here (will I dwell) in the summer ':
 so plans the man who is foolish;
 makes for the end¹ no awaking.
-
287. The man whose mind is absorbed
 with success as to children and herds
 death gathers and goes on his way,
 as a great flood the slumbering village.²
288. Sons are no refuge, nor father, neither are kins-
 folk;
 is one to end-maker come, kith is no shelter.
289. Learning the worth in the matter, the man wise
 and virtuous
 swiftly makes clear the Way that leads to the waning.³
-

XXI. MISCELLANEOUS.

290. If by surrendering limited happiness he may
 behold
 happiness ample-and-rich, the man inspired
 may forgo the limited happiness, in that he (now)
 contemplates happiness ample and rich.
-
291. The man who for the self wants happiness,
 through ill inflicted upon other men,
 in broil of wrath embroiled, from wrath
 not wholly is he set at liberty.
-

¹ Lit. intervening (of death). Cf. Gospel of Luke, xii, 16-21.

² Verse 47.

³ I suggest here an earlier *sadattha-gamanay*.

292. Yaṇ hi kiccaṇ apaviddhaṇ akiccaṇ pana kayirati,¹
unnalānaṇ² pamattānaṇ, tesañ vaḍḍhanti āsavā.
293. Yesañ ca susamāraddhā niccaṇ kāyagatā sati,
akiccaṇ te na sevanti kicce sātaccakārino.
satānaṇ sampajānānaṇ atthaṇ gacchanti āsavā.
294. Mātaṇ pitaṇ hantvā, rājāno dve ca khattiye.
raṭṭhaṇ sānucaraṇ hantvā, anīgho yāti brāhmaṇo.
295. Mātaṇ pitaṇ hantvā, rājāno dve ca sotthiye,
veyyagghapañcamaṇ hantvā, anīgho yāti brāh-
maṇo.
-
296. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā³ Gotamasāvakā,
yesañ divā ca ratto ca niccaṇ Buddhagatā sati.
297. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā,
yesañ divā ca ratto ca niccaṇ Dhammagatā sati.
298. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā,
yesañ divā ca ratto ca niccaṇ Sanghagatā sati.
299. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā,
yesañ divā ca ratto ca niccaṇ kāyagatā sati.

¹ B^r kiriyā. F. kayirati.² Tha. (P.T.S.) unnaṇ°.³ P.Kh. imi (these) for sadā (so in ff.).

292. That put aside which should be done, surely
he does that which he should not do: in such,
wanton and arrogant, grow the āsavas.
293. But they in whom the introspective-mind
intent on deeds are ever well alert,
pursuing not that which should not be done,
constantly doing things which should be done,
in them the introspective, the intelligent,
go to an utter end the āsavas.*
294. Mother and father he slew, yea, and two rajas,
men of the noble class, kingdom he stripped
of its subjects—sinless, a brahman he fares !
295. Mother and father he slew, yea, and two rajas,
men of th' elect, and fifthly a man
of high worth—sinless, a brahman he fares !¹
-
296. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, is ever Buddha-awareness.
297. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, is ever Dharma-awareness.
298. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, is ever Church-awareness.†
299. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, is ever body-aware-
ness.

* Ground 16.

† Ground 14.

¹ The violent antithesis in acts and subsequent betterment possible in a man have led to sophisticated explanation in Commentary, accepted by writers. To the Christian the regenerate murderer should present no difficulties.

300. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā,
yesaṇ divā ca ratto ca ahiṇsāya rato mano.

301. Suppabuddham pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā,
yesaṇ divā ca ratto ca bhāvanāya rato mano.

302. Duppabbajjaṇ durabhiramaṇ, durāvāsā gharā dukhā,
dukkho 'samānasaṇvāso, dukkhānupatit' addhagū,
tasmā na c' addhagu siyā, na ca dukkhānupatito siyā.

303. Saddho, sīlena sampanno, yasobhogasamappito,
yaṇ yaṃ padesaṇ bhajati,¹ tattha tatth' eva
pūjito.

304. Dūre santo pakāsentī, Himavanto va pabbato,
asant' ettha na dissanti, ratti-khittā yathā sarā.

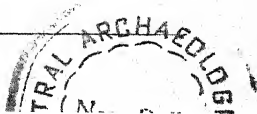
305. Ekāsaṇaṇ ekaseyyaṇ eko caram atandito,
eko damayaṃ attānaṇ vanante ramito² siyā.

XXI. PAKIṆṆAKAVAGGO EKAVĪSATIMO.

¹ P.Kh. yena yeneva vajati.

² B^r ramako.

300. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of
Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, the mind delights in
not-harming.
301. Always to well-waking wake the disciples of
Gotama,
they in whom, day and night, mind loves the
'making-become.'
-
302. Hard is recluse-life; hard is indulgence;
hard are settlements, hard (too) are houses;
ill is intercourse with unequals;
ill is the dogging (fate) of the traveller;
hence a man should not be a traveller,
nor should he be one that is ill-dogged.*
-
303. He who has faith, is with morals endued,
is blest with repute and with riches,
here and there where'er he resort,
here and there is he honoured.
-
304. The good are manifest afar
like mountain of Himālaya;
the not-good here are not discerned,
as it were arrows shot by night.
-
305. Sitting alone, resting alone, walking alone, un-
wearied,
training the self alone, let him joy in the fringe of
the woodland.
-



XXII. NIRAYAVAGGO.

306. Abhūtavādī nirayaṇ upeti yo cāpi katvā na
karomi c' āha.

ubho pi te pecca samā bhavanti nihīnakammā
manujā parattha.

307. Kāsāvakāṇṭhā bahavo pāpadhammā asaṇṇatā
pāpā pāpehi kammehi nirayaṇ te upapajjare.

308. Seyyo ayogulo bhutto tatto aggisikhūpamo,
yaṇ ce bhuñjeyya dussilo ratthapindaṇ asaṇṇato.

309. Cattāri tḥānāni naro pamatto āpajjati paradārū-
pasevī:

apuñṇalābhaṇ, na nikāmaseyyaṇ, nindaṇ tatiyaṇ,
nirayaṇ catutthaṇ.

310. Apuñṇalābho ca gatī ca pāpikā, bhītassa bhītāya
ratī ca thokikā,

rājā ca dandaṇ garukaṇ paṇeti, tasmā naro para-
dāraṇ na seve.

311. Kuso yathā duggahito hattham evānukantati,
sāmaññaṇ dupparāmaṭṭhaṇ nirayāy' upakaddhati.

XXII. PURGATORY.

306. Who speaks untruth to purgatory goes,
he too who doing says 'I do it not';
both these, in passing on, equal become,
men of base actions in another world.

307. Many about whose neck is yellow robe,
of evil qualities and uncontrolled,
wicked by wicked deeds, in hell they're born.

308. Better it were to eat an iron ball,
heated and like a (very) sheaf of fire,¹
than were a man immoral, uncontrolled,
to make his meals off (the whole) country's alms.

309. Four grounds of ill the wanton man
incurs who others' wives pursues:
discredit got, not wanted couch,
and odium third, and hell the fourth.

310. Discredit won and evil bourn,
brief joy for him and her afear'd,
and king the heavy rod sends forth:
hence none should other's wife pursue.

311. As grass ill-grasped just cuts into the hand,
so monkhood handled ill drags man to hell.

¹ Cf. verse 371.

312. Yaṇ kiñci sithilaṇ¹ kammaṇ, sankiliṭṭhañ ca yaṇ
vataṇ,
sankassaraṇ brahmacariyaṇ, na taṇ hoti mahap-
phalaṇ.

313. Kayirā² ce kayirāth' enaṇ, daḥham enaṇ parak-
kame,
sithilo¹ hi paribbajo bhiyyo ākirate rajaṇ.

314. Akataṇ dukkataṇ seyyo, pacchā tapati³ dukkataṇ,
katañ ca⁴ sukataṇ seyyo, yaṇ katvā nānutappati.

315. Nagaraṇ yathā paccantaṇ guttaṇ santarabāhiraṇ
evaṇ gopetha attānaṇ, khaṇo ve mā upaccagā.
khañātītā hi socanti nirayamhi samappitā.

316. Alajjitāye⁵ lajjanti, lajjitāye na⁵ lajjare,
micchādīṭṭhisamādānā sattā gacchanti duggatiṇ.

317. Abhaye ca bhayadassino, bhaye cābhayadassino,
micchādīṭṭhisamādānā, sattā gacchanti duggatiṇ.

¹ F. saṭhil°.

⁴ P.Kh. nu.

² K. kayiraṇ.

⁵ Cn °tā ye.

³ B° tappati.

312. Whatever act is lax and duty fouled
and God-life dubious: (conduct like) this
becomes not that which in much fruit results.

313. What he should do that let him do;
let him promote it doughtily;
the religieux whose ways are slack
goes stirring more and more a dust.¹

314. Not-done is better than ill-done;
ill-done hereafter burning brings;
but better yet the done well-done,
whereby the doer is not burnt.

315. Like border city warded in and out
herd ye the self; let not the moment pass
you by! Surely the men of moments past
are grieving handed o'er to purgat'ry.

316. They who feel shame where none need be,
who feel no shame where shame should be,
men who have taken up wrong views:
such beings go to evil bourn.

317. Who peril see wherein is none,
who in no peril peril see,
men who have taken up wrong views:
such beings go to evil bourn.

¹ Symbol of passionate desire (*rāga*).

318. Avajje vajjamatino, vajje cāvajjadassino,
micchādiṭṭhisamādānā, sattā gacchanti duggatiṇ.

319. Vajjañ ca vajjato ñatvā, avajjañ ca avajjato,
sammādiṭṭhisamādānā, sattā gacchanti suggatiṇ.

XXII. NIRAYAVAGGO BĀVĪSATIMO.

XXIII. NĀGAVAGGO.

320. Ahaṇ nāgo va sangāme cāpāto¹ patitaṇ saraṇ
ativākyāṇ titikkhissaṇ, dussīlo hi bahujaṇo.

321. Dantaṇ nayanti samitiṇ, dantaṇ rājābhirūhati,
danto seṭṭho manussesu, yo 'tivākyāṇ titikkhati.

322. Varam assatarā dantā, ājāniyā ca sindhavā,
kuñjarā ca mahānāgā, attadanto tato varaṇ.

323. Na hi etehi yānehi gaccheyya agataṇ disaṇ
yathā² 'tānā sudantena, danto dantena gacchati.

¹ Br cāpato.

² F. yath' attanā.

318. Who deem the 'may be' 'must not be,'
in 'may not be' see that which may,
men who have taken up wrong views:
such beings go to evil bourn.
319. Who knows the 'may not be' as such,
and also the 'may be' as such,
men who have taken up right views,
such beings go to lucky bourn.
-

XXIII. THE ELEPHANT.

320. I, as an elephant within the fray
endures the arrow flying from the bow,
shall outrages in word (endure); surely
of evil morals are the many folk.
321. Trained is the beast that men to concourse lead,
trained is the beast on which the raja rides,
trained is the man who is the best 'mong men,
who worded outrage suffers patiently.
322. Elect are well-trained mules and thoroughbreds
of Sindh, and the wild elephants we 'nagas' (call);
man of the trained self's more elect than these.
-
323. Surely 'tis not by those steeds that a man
may go the land he has seen not;
'tis by the self well-trained that he goes,
thither the trained by the training.
-

324. Dhanapālako nāma kuñjaro
kaṭukappabhedano¹ dunnivārayo
baddho kabalaṇ na bhuñjati,
sumarati nāgavanassa kuñjaro.

325. Middhī yadā hoti mahagghaso ca
niddāyitā samparivattasāyī
mahāvarāho va nivāpapaṭṭho
punappunaṇ gabbham upeti mando.

326. Idaṇ pure cittaṃ acāri cāritaṇ²
yenicchakaṇ yatthakāmaṇ yathāsukhaṇ
tadajj' ahaṇ niggahessāmi yoniso,
hatthippabhinnaṇ viya ankusaggaho.

327. Appamādaratā hotha, sacittaṇ anurakkhatha.
duggā uddharath' attānaṇ, paṅke satto 'va kuñ-
jaro.³

328. Sace labhetha nipakaṇ sahāyaṇ
saddhiñcaraṇ sādhuviḥārīdhīraṇ,
abhibhuyya sabbāni parissayāni,
careyya ten' attamano satimā.

329. No ce labhetha nipakaṇ sahāyaṇ,
saddhiñcaraṇ sādhuviḥārīdhīraṇ,
rājā va ratṭhaṇ vijitaṇ pahāya,
eko care, mātāṅ' araññe va nāgo.

¹ Br kaṭukabhedano.

² Br K. caritaṇ. Cⁿ cārikaṇ.

³ Br Cⁿ sanno.

325. Tha. 17, 101²; Netti, 34, 129.

326. Tha. 77, 1130.

327. Mil. 379.

328, 329. Sn. 45, 46.

328-331. M. iii, 154; Vin. i, 350.

324. Wealth-warder, royal elephant
in rut-eruption hard to check,
captive he would no morsel eat,
mindful he, bull-elephant
of the wood where (roamed) his peers.
-
325. Who waxes torpid and in diet gross,
given to sleep and rolling as he lies,
like a great hog with provender replete,
the dolt goes on again, again to birth.
-
326. Of yore this mind a-faring went
where wish or whim or pleasure led;
today I'll hold it fitly checked,
as trainer's hook rut-elephant.
-
327. Become ye fain for seriousness;
hold ye your mind in ward alway;
from evil pass draw out the self
as would wild elephant sunk in swamp.
-
328. If he win a delectable¹ comrade,
walker in faith, more worthy in conduct,
he may overcome all that imperils,
he may walk mindful by him uplifted.
329. If he win no delectable¹ comrade,
walker in faith, more worthy in conduct,
let him like raja rejecting a conquest,
fare by his lonesome, as in the jungle
'mid common elephants fareth the great bull.

¹ *Nipāko*, apparently a monopoly of Pali books, is literally 'excellent,' 'choice,' 'superior' (*pat*=rule, *pā*=protect). The Comy. on *Saṃyutta*, i, 13 (I, 3, § 3, 'Jaṭṭā') defines it as *pārihāriyā-paṇṇā*: warding wisdom, or practical wisdom. F. *prudentem*.

330. Ekassa caritaṇ seyyo, n' atthi bāle sahāyatā.
eko care, na ca pāpāni kayirā appossukko, mātaṇ'
araññe va nāgo.

331. Atthamhi jātamhi sukhā sahāyā,
tuṭṭhī sukhā yā itarītarena,
puññaṇ sukhaṇ jīvitasankhayamhi,
sabbassa dukkhassa sukhaṇ pahānaṇ.

332. Sukhā matteyyatā loke, atho petteyyatā sukhā,
sukhā sāmāññatā loke, atho brahmaññatā sukhā.

333. Sukhaṇ yāvajarā sīlaṇ, sukhā saddhā patitṭhitā,
Sukho paññāya paṭilābho, pāpān' akaraṇaṇ su-
khaṇ.

XXIII. NĀGAVAGGO TEVĪSATIMO.

XXIV. TAṆHĀVAGGO.

334. Manujassa pamattacārino
taṇhā vadḍhati māluvā viya,
so plavati¹ hurāhuraṇ
phalam icchaṇ va vanamhi² vānaro.
335. Yaṇ esā sahatī³ jammī taṇhā loke visattikā
sokā tassa pavaḍḍhanti abhivaṭṭaṇ⁴ va biraṇaṇ.

¹ B^r palaveti. Cⁿ palavati. F. palavati. ² F. Cⁿ vanasmi.

³ B^r sahate. ⁴ F. abhivaḍḍhaṇ; B^r abhivutṭhaṇ.

330. Better is faring of man that is lonely;
 not with the foolish may be good comradeship;
 lone let him fare, but working no evil,
 roam at his ease, as in the jungle
 'mid common elephants fareth the great bull.
-
331. When need arises pleasant are the comrades;
 content is pleasant; with just this or that;
 pleasant is merit when the life is ended;
 pleasant is of ev'ry ill the riddance.
332. Pleasant as world rates 'tis to be a mother,¹
 pleasant no less it is to be a father,
 pleasant as world rates is the monkish calling,
 pleasant no less it is to be a brahman.
333. Pleasant as lasting till old age are morals,
 pleasant the faith that has been well established,
 pleasant it is to have attained wisdom,
 not committing evil things is pleasant.
-

XXIV. CRAVING (THIRST).*

334. For man who fares in wantonness
 craving like creeper (in him) grows;
 he hovers back and forth again,
 as ape in forest seeking fruit.
335. Whom she, the vile one, 'craving,' overcomes,
 maker of noxious cleavings-to-the-world,
 for him sorrows grow up and multiply,
 as rank entwining bine of vīraṇa.
-

* Grounds 1, 2, 4, 5.

¹ In these four lines the Pali has everywhere the abstract:
 'motherhood,' etc.

336. Yo c' etaṇ sahaṭī jammiṇ taṇhaṇ loka duraccayaṇ
sokaṁ tamhā papatanti, udabindū va pokkharā.
337. Taṇ vo vadāmi bhaddaṇ vo yāvant' ettha samāgatā,
taṇhāya mūlaṇ khaṇatha, usīrattho va bīraṇaṇ.
mā vo naṇaṇ vo¹ soto vo Māro bhañji punappunaṇ.
338. Yathāpi mūle anupaddave daḷhe
chinno pi rukkho punar eva rūhati,
evam pi taṇhānusaye anūhate
nibbattati dukkham idaṇ punappunaṇ.
339. Yassa chaṭṭiṇṣaṭī sotā manāpassavaṇā bhusā
vāhā vahanti duddiṭṭhiṇ sankappā rāganissitā.
340. Savanti sabbadhī² sotā, latā ubbhijja tiṭṭhati,
taṇ ca disvā lataṇ jātaṇ mūlaṇ paññāya chindatha.
341. Saritāni sinehitāni ca somanassāni bhavanti jantuno
te sātasiṭā sukhesino, te ve jātijarūpagā narā.
342. Tasiṇāya purakkhatā pajā
parisappanti saso va bādḥito,
saṇḍyojanasangasattakā
dukkham upenti punappunaṇ cirāya.
343. Tasiṇāya purakkhatā pajā
parisappanti saso va bādḥito,
tasmā tasiṇaṇ vinodaye
bhikkhu ākaṅkhi³ virāgam attano.

¹ F. vo.² F. sabbadā.³ Br ākaṅkhanto, *omitting* bhikkhu. F. ākaṅkha.

336. But he who 'craving,' vile one, overcomes,
 who in this world is hard to overpass,
 sorrows from off him fall and drop away,
 as from the lotus leaf the drop of dew.
337. This do I say to you, so far as here
 ye are together come: good luck to you!
 dig up the root of craving, as ye were
 a man in quest of *vīraṇa*'s sweet root.¹
 Let it not be with you that ye, the reed,
Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er.
338. Just as, in root undamaged, strong,
 the tree, though hewn, just sprouts again,
 so too, in latent tendency,
 of craving not torn out, is born
 this that is Ill, again, again.
339. In whom² are streams (of craving) thirty-six,
 currents of what is sweet, tumultuous,
 as bearers bear along him-of-bad-views,
 purposes in the passions having source.
340. (And) everywhere the streams are flowing on,
 (and) ever burgeoning the creeper stands:
 but this, when you have seen, with wisdom cut
 this creeper to its (very) birth, its root.
341. Things flowing and things unctuous
 pleasures become for Everyman;
 men set on pleasure, bent on quest
 of happiness, men verily
 to birth and age are given o'er.
342. Man who on craving sets high rank
 wriggles and crawls like captive hare,
 fast in its fetters and its bonds
 goeth his way to hap of ill
 again, again for many a day.
343. Man who on craving sets high rank
 wriggles and crawls like captive hare,
 hence should the monk this thirst dispel,
 desiring fading for the self.

¹ *Usīra* is the fragrant root of *vīraṇa* grass. Digging required
 'a great spade.' *Comy.*

² Lit. to, or for, or of, whom.

344. Whoso, come forth from wood wood-free,
to that same wood runs back again,
now look at that same man ! Set free
to the same jail he runs again.
-
345. Not this is sturdy bond, have said the worthy,
of iron made, or timber, or of rushes;
but where is craze of passion for the jewel,
the bracelet, for the wives and for the children :
346. This is the sturdy bond, have said the worthy,
bearing men down, insidious,¹ hard to loosen,
and this (once) cutting they are (free) to wander,
uncrazed, and rid of pleasure in the senses.
-
347. The crazed with lust fall in and down the current,
as down the self-made web descends the spider;
and this too cutting, men inspired forth wander
uncrazed, with all the ills (of life) put from them.
-
348. Let go the past, let go the things hereafter,
let go the middle things, yon-farer of becoming !
with mind on every side at liberty,
you'll not come back again to birth and age.
-
349. In the man who taking thought is worried,
keen of passion contemplating beauty,²
all the more is craving in him growing,
lo ! he's fashioning a sturdy prison.
350. But the man who loves abated thinking,
ever mindful makes-become the ugly,
lo ! he'll make an utter end (of craving),
he will break the prison-house of Māra.
-
351. End-goer is he, all unafraid and gone
for him is craving, rid is he of stain,
darts of becoming has he cut clean out;
this (body) is his final congeries.

¹ Cf. verse 312: lax.² Cf. verses 7, 8.

352. Vīṭataṇho anādāno niruttipadakovido
akkharānaṃ sannipātaṃ jaṇṇā pubbāparāni¹ ca,
sa ve antimasāriro mahāpaṇṇo (mahāpuriso) ti vuccati.

353. Sabbābhibhū sabbavidū 'ham asmi, sabbesu dhammesu
anūpalitto,
sabbañjaho taṇhakkhaye vimutto, sayaṃ abhiññāya kam
uddiseyyaṃ ?

354. Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.
sabbaṃ rasaṃ dhammaraso jināti.
sabbaṃ ratīṃ dhammaratī jināti.
taṇhakkhayo sabbadukkhaṃ jināti.

355. Hananti bhogā dummedhaṃ no ve² pāragavesino.
bhogataṇhāya dummedho hanti aññe va³ attanaṃ.⁴

356. Tiṇadosāni khettāni, rāgadosā ayam pajā;
tasmā hi vitarāgesu dinnāṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ.

357. Tiṇadosāni khettāni, dosadosā ayam pajā;
tasmā hi vītadosesu dinnāṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ.

358. Tiṇadosāni khettāni, mohadosā ayam pajā;
tasmā hi vītamohesu dinnāṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ.

359. Tiṇadosāni khettāni, icchādosā ayam pajā,
tasmā hi vigaticchesu dinnāṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ.

XXIV. TAṆHĀVAGGO CATUVĪSATIMO.

¹ Sc K. pubbaparāni.

² F. ce.

³ Br ca.

⁴ Sc attano.

353. M. i, 171; Vin. i, 8. Cf. Sn. 211; S. ii, 284; KV. 289. Therī-gāthā Comy., p. 220: Mvst. iii, 316. Anūpalitto: *ū met. causa*.

352. Gone is all craving; he doth nothing take;
 skilled is he in the sequence of the word;
 conflux of letters fore and aft he knows;¹
 he verily his final body bears,
 man of great wisdom (great man) is he called.*
-
353. All have I overcome; all things I know;
 'mid all things undefiled, renouncing all;
 in death of craving free, I of myself
 know well—whose (pupil) should I call myself ?†
-
354. Every gift the gift of Dhamma conquers,
 every taste the taste of Dhamma conquers,
 every love the love of Dhamma conquers,
 waning of craving conquers every ill.‡
-
355. Wealth slays the man of low sagacity,
 but never them whose quest is the beyond.
 The man of low sagacity athirst for wealth
 doth slay, as slew he other men, the self.
-
356. Weed-blemished the fields;² lust-blemished this race,
 hence fertile what's given to men rid of lust.‡
357. Weed-blemished the fields; hate-blemished this race,
 hence fertile what's given to men rid of hate.
358. Weed-blemished the fields; this race dulness blights,
 hence fertile what's given to men who're not dull.
359. Weed-blemished the fields; wish-blemished this race,
 hence fertile what's given to men rid of wish.
-

* Grounds 4, 5. † Ground 14. ‡ 356-9. Grounds 3, 8, 9.

¹ This can only refer to the rising, the new importance, in the craft of writing, relatively unknown at the Third Council.

² Field(s) *came to be* a symbol for giving to the monk.

XXV. BHIKKHUVAGGO.

360. Cakkhunā saṅvaro sādhu, sādhu sotena saṅvaro,
ghāṇena saṅvaro sādhu, sādhu jivhāya saṅvaro,
361. kāyena saṅvaro sādhu, sādhu vācāya saṅvaro,
manasā saṅvaro sādhu, sādhu sabbattha saṅvaro.
sabbattha saṅvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhā pamuccati.
-
362. Hatthasaṅyato pādasāṅyato, vācāya saṅyato saṅyatuttamo,
ajjhatarato samāhito, eko santusito: tam āhu
bhikkhuṃ.
-
363. Yo mukhasaṅyato bhikkhu mantabhānī anuddhato
atthaṃ dhammañ ca dipeti madhuraṃ tassa bhāsi-
taṃ.
-
364. Dhammārāmo, dhammarato, dhammaṃ anuvicin-
tayaṃ,
dhammaṃ anussaraṃ, bhikkhu saddhammā na pari-
hāyati.
-
365. Salābhaṃ nātimaññeyya, nāññesaṃ pihayaṃ care.
aññesaṃ pihayaṃ bhikkhu samādhin nādhigacchati.

360, 361. Mvst. iii, 423.

361^{1,2}. S. i, 73; Mil. 399.362². Tha. 981 (*has* susamāhitatto); Mvst. iii, 423.363¹. Cf. Sn. 850²; Tha. 2¹.

364. Itv., § 86; Tha. 1032.

364¹. Sn 327; Mvst. iii, 422.

XXV. MONKS.

360. Restraint in eye is good, and good restraint in ear,
restraint in smell is good, and good restraint in tongue.
361. Restraint in act is good, and good restraint in speech,
restraint in mind is good, good everywhere restraint;
restrained everywhere, the monk from every ill obtains
release.
-
362. Whoso is hand-controlled and foot-controlled,
whoso is speech-controlled, of men controllèd best,*
who fain is for the inner world, intent,¹
lone and contented: him they call a monk.
-
363. The monk who holds his face under control,²
who speaks the mantra, is not arrogant,
who weal and dharma teaches: sweet his speech.
-
364. Dharma-enjoyer, dharma-lover, on dharma pon-
dering,
dharma remembering, a monk (as such)
from very dharma doth not fall away.
-
365. What he has gotten let him not despise;
nor (gain) of others wanting let him fare;
wanting the gains of others, (such) a monk
to concentration does not win his way.

* Grounds 6, 8, 9.

¹ In the Sāriputta gāthās: 'has the self well intent.' Tha. 981.

² 'It is a great thing to conquer one's face.' Emerson, 'Behaviour.'

366. Appalābho pi ce bhikkhu salābhaṇṇā nātimaññati,
taṇ ve devā paṇṇanti suddhājivaṇ atandaṇ.

367. Sabbaso nāmarūpasmiṇ yassa n' atthi mamāyitaṇ,
asatā sa na socati, sa ve bhikkhūti vuccati.

368. Mettāvihārī yo bhikkhu, paṇṇo Buddhasāsane,
adhigacche padaṇ santaṇ saṅkhārūpasamaṇ sukhaṇ.

369. Siṅca bhikkhu imaṇ nāvaṇ, sittā te lahum essati,
chetvā rāgaṇ ca dosaṇ ca tato nibbānam ehi.

370. Pañca chinde, pañca jahe, pañca c' uttari bhāvaye.
pañca sangātigo bhikkhu oghatiṇṇo ti vuccati.

371. Jhāya, bhikkhu, mā ca pamādo,
mā te kāmaguṇe bhamassu cittaṇ.
mā lohagulaṇ giḷi pamatto.
mā kandi dukkham idan ti ḍayhamāno

367. Sn. 950. 367². Sn. 861.

368². Tha. 11²; cf. 521¹. Cf. 368, 369. Mvst. iii, 421, 523.

370. S. i, 3; Tha. 15, 633; Netti, 70. 37¹. Tha. 119².

366. Though little be that which he has received,
the monk who (ne'ertheless) what he has got
despises not, him devas verily
commend as life-pure and unfaltering.
-
367. For whom no 'mine-thing' is, no name-and-shape,
for that-which-is-not¹ grieving not he's called a
monk.
-
368. The monk who dwells in amity,
believing in the Buddha-lore,
may win his way to holy sphere,
to peace from worries, happiness.*
369. Bale out this boat, monk; balèd out
'twill lightly go along for you;
cut out both passion and ill-will,
so will you come to waning-out.†
370. Five cut thou off, five leave behind,
but five in further (worlds) expand;
he who the fivefold bond transcends,²
a monk flood-traversed is he called.
371. Muse, monk ! be you not wanton, man !
be you not one whose mind on ways
of sense-desire a-whirling goes;
be you not as a wanton man
a swallower of (hell's) lead-ball !
be you not while you're burning there
wailer: O woe ! O misery !

* Ground 14.

† Ground 10 and for all, 1-8.

¹ Here 'the man' (*purisa*) is the main thing; the 'mine': property, and instruments of mind in body are relatively unreal, unimportant.

² These four fives in ecclesiastical teaching were (1, 2) the ten fetters, the spiritual faculties (faith, mindfulness, effort, concentration, wisdom) and the five: lust, hate, dulness, conceit, (wrong) opinion.

372. N'atthi jhānaṃ apaññassa paññā n'atthi ajjhāyato
yamhi jhānañ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbānasantike.
373. Suññāgāraṃ pavitṭhassa, santacittassa bhikkhuno
amānusi rati hoti sammā dhammaṃ vipassato.
374. Yato yato sammasati khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ,¹
labhati pītipāmojjaṃ amataṃ taṃ vijānataṃ.
375. Tatrāyam ādi bhavati idha paññassa bhikkhuno,
indriyagutto santutṭhi pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro,
mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe, suddhājīve, atandite.
376. Paṭisanthāravuty' assa, ācārakusalo siyā,
tato pāmojjabahulo dukkhass' antaṃ karissati.
-
377. Vassikā viya pupphāni maddavāni pamuñcati,
evaṃ rāgañ ca dosañ ca vippamuñcetha bhikkhavo.
-
378. Santakāyo santavāco santavā² susamāhito
vantalokāmiso bhikkhu upasanto ti vuccati.
-

¹ F. Cⁿ udayavyayaṃ.² Com. santamano.

372. No musing is there for the unwise man,
nor wisdom for the man who muses not;
in whom are found musing and wisdom too
he verily is near the waning-out.*
373. To monk who into empty place has come
with peaceful mind, there comes a joy not born
of earth as he with insight dharma heeds.
374. When now, when then he grasps the rise and fall
of many things, rapture and joy he wins
of those who can discern the deathless That.¹
375. There (in the Rule) this groundwork comes to be
for monk of wisdom: warding of (every) sense,
content, and in the Code the (life) controlled,
and he must seek the company of friends
lovely (in deed), life-pure, unfaltering.
376. Let him be cordial in his ways;
he should be righteous in his deeds;
thereby, filled with abundant joy,
he'll come to make an end of ill.
-
377. Like as the jasmine sheds its faded blooms,
so do you, monks, let lust and ill-will go.
-
378. The monk of pious deed, of pious word,
of pious mind, intent, with worldly lure
spewed out, is called a man of piety.
-

* Ground 10.

¹ 'So he knowing That became immortal,' Ait. 2, 4, 6. 'He who knows this, having reached That, becomes immortal,' Kaus. 2, 13. 'Knowing That, the wise become immortal,' Kena, 2, 13. 'That is the immortal veiled by being' (or, the real), Bṛhad. 1, 6, 3, etc.

379. Attanā coday' attānaṃ, paṭimāse attam¹ attanā,
so attagutto satimā sukhaṃ bhikkhu vihāhisi.

380. Attā hi attano nātho, attā hi attano gati,
tasmā saṇyamay' attānaṃ, assam bhadraṃ va vā-
nijo.

381. Pāmojjabahulo bhikkhu pasanno Buddhasāsane,
adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ sankhārūpasamaṃ sukhaṃ

382. Yo have daharo bhikkhu yuñjati Buddhasāsane,
so'maṃ lokaṃ pabhāseti abbhā mutto va candimā.

XXV. BHIKKHUVAGGO PAÑCAVĪSATIMO.

XXVI. BRĀHMAṆAVAGGO.

383. Chinda sotaṃ, parakkamma, kāme panuda brāh-
mana !
sankhārānaṃ khayaṃ ñatvā akataññū 'si brāhmaṇa !

384. Yadā dvayesu dhammesu pāragū hoti brāhmaṇo,
ath' assa sabbe saṇyogā atthaṃ gacchanti jānatō.

¹ K. paṭimāse 'ttam. B' paṭimaṇsetha attanā.

379¹. Cf. Tha. 637.

381. Tha. 11.

382. M. ii, 104; Tha. 873. 382¹. Tha. 203.

383¹. S. i, 49.

383-423. Sn. 620-647.

379. The man should by the self incite the self,
the man should by the self hold back the self;
he by the self safe-guarded and alert:—
lo ! monk, in happiness thou'lt come to dwell.
380. Yea, 'tis the self is warder of the self;¹
yea, and the self the bourn is of the self!²
hence shouldst thou watch over the self
as merchant over charger thoroughbred.
-
381. Now let the monk filled with exceeding joy,*
believing in the Buddha-doctrine (taught),
go up into the holy, happy sphere
where worldly worries trouble him no more.
-
382. Surely the monk who young hath yoked
himself to Buddha-doctrine (taught)*
sheddeth a radiance o'er the world
as moon when coming free from cloud
-

XXVI. THE BRAHMĀṆA.

383. Cut off the stream, press onward, drive away
desires of sense, thou brahman (man of worth) !
hast thou the waning of world-worries learnt,
adept art, brahman ! in the things not made.
-
384. When in two things the brahman, man of worth,
becomes farer-to-the-beyond, for him,
the knower, every bond is done away.
-

* Ground 14.

¹ See footnote to verse 160.

² 'To become one for whom Brahman (=Atman) is all: this is for him the highest bourn (*gati*). . . . The Man: this is the course (*kāsthā*), this is the highest bourn,' Bṛhad. 4, 3, 32; Kaṭha, 3, 6.

385. Yassa pāraṇ apāraṇ vā pārāpāraṇ na vijjati,
vītaddaraṇ, visaṇyuttaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

386. Jhāyiṇ, virajam āsīnaṇ, katakiccaṇ, anāsavaṇ,
uttamattham anuppattaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

387. Divā tapati ādicco, rattiṇ ābhāti candimā,
sannaddho khattiyo tapati, jhāyī tapati brāhmaṇo.
atha sabbam ahorattaṇ buddho tapati tejasā.

388. Bāhitapāpo ti brāhmaṇo, samacariyā samaṇo ti vuccati,
pabbājāyam¹ attano malaṇ, tasmā pabbajito ti vuccati.

389. Na brāhmaṇassa pahareyya,² nāssa muñcetha brāhmaṇo.
dhī brāhmaṇassa hantāraṇ, tato dhī yassa muñcati.

390. Na brāhmaṇass' etad akiñci seyyo
yadā nisedho manaso piyehi,
yato yato hiṇsamano nivattati
tato tato sammati-m-eva dukkhaṇ.

391. Yassa kāyena vācāya manasā n' atthi dukkataṇ,
saṇvutaṇ tihi ṭhānehi, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

¹ Cⁿ. pabbājāy'.

² F. hareyya.

385. Cf. Sn. 1129.

387. Cf. S. i, 15.

388¹. Cf. Ud. i, 4.

391. Netti, 183.

385. For whom beyond and not beyond are not,
or both beyond and not beyond,¹ that man
with terror gone, detached, I brahman call.*
-
386. The man of musing, man of faded dye,
the sitter, man of finished work, one rid
of āsavas, his utmost weal attained,
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.†
-
387. By day shines sun, by night beams moon,
armoured the warrior shines,
as muser shines the man of worth,
but all the day and all the night
by ardour shines the wake.
-
388. 'Ejector of evil' is the brahman called,
'he of calm-life' (is callèd) a recluse;
making to go forth flaws o' the self:
therefore 'forth-goner' is he called.
-
389. He should not strike a brahman, man of worth,
nor should (such) brahman on him vent (his wrath);
fie! on the man who brahman strikes,
fie! on the man who then should vent (his wrath)!
390. More than a little better for a brahman 'tis,
when in things prized he holds the mind reserved;
As oft as mind-to-harm he turns away,
so often (to him) comes suaging of ill.‡
-
391. Whose deed and word and thought give no offence,
him in three opportunities restrained,
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-

* Ground 5.

† Ground 16.

‡ Ground 15.

¹ Com. sees here senses and sense-objects!

392. Yamhā dhammaṇ vijāneyya sammāsambuddhadesitaṇ,
sakkaccaṇ taṇ namasseyya, agghuttaṇ va brāhmaṇo.

393. Na jaṭāhi, na gottena, na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo,
yamhi saccaṇ ca dhammo ca, so sukhī, so ca brāh-
maṇo.

394. Kiṇ te jaṭāhi dummedha ! kiṇ te ajinasāṭiyā !
abbhantaraṇ te gahaṇaṇ, bāhiraṇ parimaṇṇasi !

395. Paṇsukūladharaṇ jantaṇ, kisaṇ, dhamanisanthataṇ,
ekaṇ vanasmiṇ jhāyantaṇ, taṇ ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

396. Na cāham brāhmaṇam brūmi yonijaṇ mattisaṃ-
bhavaṇ,
bhovādī nāma so hoti, sa ce hoti sakiṇcano,
akiṇcanaṇ anādānaṇ, taṇ ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

397. Sabbasaṇyोजनाṇ chetvā yo ve na paritassati,
saṅgātigaṇ viṣaṇyuttaṇ, taṇ ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

398. Chetvā nandiṇ¹ varattaṇ ca, sandāmaṇ² sahanukkamaṇ,
ukkhittapaḷiḥaṇ buddhaṇ, taṇ ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

¹ F. nandhiṇ.

² F. sandānaṇ.

395¹. Cf. Tha. 243¹.

396-423. Sn. 620-647.

396. Cf. Uttarādhy., p. 14.

398¹. S. i, 16, 63.

392. From whom he should have come to know
Dhamma by true Sambuddha taught,
with reverence should he honour him,
as brahman sacrificial fire.*
-
393. Not by the braids, the clan, the birth is a man
brahman true;
in whom are truth and dharma, he is well, is
brahman he.
-
394. What use are braids to you, you unsagacious man !
what use to you is skin of antelope !
your inside is a jungle, outside you make smooth !
-
395. The man of dustheap-gear, the lean, of network skin, the
lone,
the muser in the wood : him I call brahman, man of worth.†
396. I call none brahman for that he
is of (this) race, is of (that) mother born;
such man will dub (you) sir ! yea, be a man of
means;
the man who nothing has, who nothing takes:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
397. The man who every fetter has cut off,
yea, who is in no turmoil (of the mind),
transcending bonds, detached in every way:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
398. The man who's cut the trace and (cut) the strap,
the bridle and the thong, and has the latch
that bars the door thrown up, he who is wake:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.‡
-

* Ground 14.

† Ground 6.

‡ Ground 4.

399. Akkosañ vadhabandhañ ca aduṭṭho yo titikkhati,
khantibalañ balānikañ tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

400. Akkodhanañ vatavantañ silavantañ anussutañ,
dantañ antimasāriṇaṇ tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

401. Vāri pokkharapatte va āragge-r-iva sāsapo,
yo na lippati kāmesu, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

402. Yo dukkhassa pajānāti idh' eva khayam attano,
pannabhārañ visaṇyuttañ, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

403. Gambhīrapaññañ, medhāviñ, maggāmaggassa kovidañ,
uttamattham anuppattañ, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

404. Asaṇsatṭhañ gahaṭṭhehi anāgārehi cūbhayañ
anokasāriṇ appicchañ, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

405. Nidhāya daṇḍaṇ bhūtesu tasesu thāvaresu ca,
yo na hanti na ghāteti, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

406. Aviruddhañ viruddhesu attadaṇḍesu nibbutaṇ
sādānesu anādānañ, tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

399. He who unangered bears reproach and stripes
and jail, in patience strong, arrayed in strength:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
400. Unangered, dutiful, and virtuous,
unspotted, trained, in (earth's) last body garbed:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
401. As water clings not to a lotus leaf,
nor grain of mustard plant to point of awl,
so he who clings not to desires of sense:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
402. Who for the self, e'en here, knows wane of ill,
him of the fallen burden, him detached,
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
403. Him of deep wisdom and sagacity,
versed in the Way and in the not-Way versed,
him who has come to win weal uttermost:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.*
-
404. Not with lay-folk associate, or with
the houseless people, or with both of these;
faring without a house, with wishes few:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
405. Whoso has laid aside the rod (of force),
concerning creatures cowed or truculent,
whoso smites not, nor makes (another) slay:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
406. Whoso among withstanders withstands not,
is passive 'mong uplifters of the rod,
who among them who take no taker is:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-

407. Yassa rāgo ca doso ca māno makkho ca pātito,
sāsapo-r-iva āraggā, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

408. Akakkasaṇ viññāpāṇiṇ giraṇ saccaṇ udīraye,
yāya nābhisaṇe kañci, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

409. Yo 'dha dīghaṇ va rassaṇ vā aṇuṇ thūlaṇ subhā-
subhaṇ
loke adinnaṇ nādiyati, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

410. Āsā yassa na vijjanti asmiṇ loke paramhi ca,
nirāsayaṇ visaṇyuttaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

411. Yass' ālayā na vijjanti aññāya akathaṇkathī,
amatogadhaṇ anuppattaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāh-
maṇaṇ.

412. Yo 'dha puññaṇ ca pāpaṇ ca ubho sangaṇ upaccagā,
asokaṇ virajaṇ suddhaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

413. Candaṇ va vimalaṇ suddhaṇ vipprasannaṇ anāvilaṇ,
Nandibhavaṇparikkhīṇaṇ,¹ tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

¹ Com. tīsu bhavesu . . . taṇhaṇ.

407. The man in whom passion and hate and pride
and cant (all) have been made to fall,
as falls the mustard-seed from point of awl:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
408. Who with a voice not harsh, informative.
may teach the true, and no one vilify:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
409. Who in this world naught takes that is not given,
or long or short, fine, coarse, or fair or foul:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
410. The man in whom longings can find no place
as to this world or as to other worlds,
him of no longings, utterly detached:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.*
-
411. For whom the wonted grooves exist not, he who
knows,
who asks not how is this and how is that,
the plunge into the deathless has attained:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.
-
412. Whoso hath here the merit and the evil, yea,
who hath transcended both of them as bonds,
the man griefless, dye-faded, purified:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.†
-
413. Whoso as moon unspotted, pure, serene,
stainless, for whom bliss and becoming have gone out:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.†
-

414. Yo 'maṇ¹ paḷipathaṇ duggaṇ saṅsāraṇ moham ac-
cagā,
tiṇṇo pāragato jhāyī anejo akathankathī,
anupādāya nibbuto, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

415. Yo 'dha kāme pahatvāna anāgāro paribbaje,
kāma²-bhavaparikkhīṇaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

416. Yo 'dha taṇhaṇ pahatvāna anāgāro paribbaje,
taṇhā-bhavaparikkhīṇaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

417. Hitvā mānusaṇ yogaṇ dibbaṇ yogaṇ upaccagā,
Sabbayogavisayaṇuttaraṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

418. Hitvā ratiṇ ca aratiṇ ca sītibhūtaṇ nirūpadhiṇ,
sabbalokābhibhuṇ vīraṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

419. Cutiṇ yo vedi sattānaṇ upapattiṇ ca sabbaso,
asattaṇ sugataṇ buddhaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāh-
maṇaṇ.

420. Yassa gatiṇ na jānanti devā gandhabbamānusaṇ,
khīṇāsavaṇ arahantaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

¹ K. imaṇ.

² F. kāmā.

414. Cf. A. iv, 290.

420. Cf. Mbh. xiii, 113, 7.

414. Him who has fared past quagmire and bad road,
world-faring, and the baffling in 't has crossed.
has traversed, gone beyond, a muser is,
unmoved and grasping naught, has waned away: *
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

415. Whoso here getting rid of sense-desires,
houseless should wander, with desires of sense,
and with becoming waned utterly:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

416. The man who here of craving getting rid,
houseless should wander, with (all) cravings waned,
and with becoming waned utterly: †
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

417. The man who has discarded human ties,
and has transcended ties of deva-world,
from every tie lives utterly detached:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth. ‡

418. Whoso, of fondness and aversion rid,
has cool become, and void of life's substrate,
hero who every world has overcome:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth. ‡

419. Whoso has come to know in every way
decease of beings and their going on to be,
without attachment, well-farer, awake:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

420. He of whose bourn nor devas know, nor they
expert in deva-music, nor the men
of earth, quenched as to āsava, ar'han:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

* Ground 10. † Ground 7. ‡ Grounds 5, 2; cf. p. xxviii, l. 24.

421. Yassa pure ca pacchā ca majjhe ca n' atthi kiñcanaṇ,
akiñcanaṇ anādānaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

422. Usabham pavaṇaṇ vīraṇ mahesiṇ vijitāvinaṇ
anejaṇ nahātaṇ buddhaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

423. Pubbe-nivāsaṇ yo vedī saggāpāyaṇ ca passati,
atho jātikkhayam patto, abhiññā, vosito, muni,
sabbavositavosānaṇ, tam ahaṇ brūmi brāhmaṇaṇ.

XXVI. BRĀHMAṆAVAGGO CHABBĪSATIMO.

1. *Yamakaṇ Appamādaṇ Cittaṇ*
Pupphaṇ Bālena Paṇḍitaṇ
Arahantaṇ Sahassena
Pāpaṇ Daṇḍena, te dasa ;
2. *Jarā Attā ca Loko ca Buddhaṇ Sukhaṇ Piyeṇa ca*
Kodhaṇ Mālaṇ ca Dhammatṭhaṇ Maggavaggena vī-
sati ;
3. *Pakinnakaṇ Nīraṇaṇ Nāgo*
Taṇhaṇ Bhikkhu ca Brāhmaṇo :
ete chabbīsati vaggā
desitādiccabandhuna.

DHAMMAPADAN NIṬṬHITAṆ.

421¹. Cf. Tha. 537.

423. Cf. M. ii, 144; S. i, 167; A. i, 165; Itv., § 99.

421. The man for whom the past and present things
and things in midst (of us) are (as 'twere) naught,
who nothing has, and who takes nothing up:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

422. The bull-like man, the man elect, hero,
great seer and conqueror, unmoved,
bather regenerate, the man awake:
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.

423. Whoso has come to know where erst he lived,
and sees the lucky world, the world of doom,
now that the waning out of birth he's won,
a super-knower, finished, valuer,
him who has finished every finishing:*
that man I call a brahman, man of worth.¹

* Ground 15.

¹ I here suggest a pada has been dropped and three padas of later values interpolated. Cf. *vv.ll.* in *Iti-vuttaka*. The dropped pada may possibly have been identical with that in verse 166:

attadatthena abhiññā[ya]
(who weal o' the self has come to know).

KHUDDAKA-PĀṬHA : THE TEXT OF THE MINOR SAYINGS

INTRODUCTION

OF the Khuddaka-pāṭha the only two complete translations known to me are those by Childers (1869) and by K. Seidenstücker (1910). I refer to these as C. and S. respectively. In this work we are again in a world of the older and the newer, but it is in phases of the Sakyan history which are somewhat different from the phases revealed in the Dhammapada.

We have in the first place a title which betrays a late insertion. *Pāṭha* is a much later word than *pada*. *Pāṭha*, *pathati*, 'script,' 'to read,' only came in when there came to be *sufficient to be read* to force into being the needed word. And in Singhalese and Burmese *pot* is still the word for book. It is only in Commentarial Pali that we get the word *pāṭha*. And there it means the written 'text' (the 'row' of signs, or Pali) as distinct from the oral Comment. This does not involve the contents under the title as being equally late. We know that the *titles* of Piṭaka books were late additions when the manifold contents came to be arranged in 'books.' It may well be it was with the written manuscript that the title first became necessary or convenient.

In the next place we have here a much more miscellaneous collection of sayings than in the former anthology. It will appear to have been, and still to be, at least in its former half, a primer for novices. It is true that laymen may also have had to make attestation of faith of the kind in sections 1 and 2; but the second half of section 2 was concerned with the Order only. To take section 1: the entrant would find himself initiated into a world of three Ideas grown dominant and even supreme: the Idea of a Superleader who had lived and

who was as influence still living;¹ the Idea of a Word or Logos, signifying the world of the Ought which had become reduced and yet extended to a world of fixed sayings, and then to these as written; and the Idea of a world, within the world of men, where Rule and exponents of Rule issued the fiat—in other words, within a ‘church,’ or, with a more cognate etymology, an *ecclesia*, a *sangha*, or corporate body. That this trinity, however it be emphasized in a much edited Canon of scripture, was a feature in the early days of the mother-settlement of Rājagaha, or in those of the next centre, Sāvattthī, I cannot believe. It would, in that case, have been prominent in the formulated procedure at the first two Councils. But, in the records of these, it nowhere occurs in its triple formula, nor does any question arise of promulgating such a formula as a *saraṇaṇ*. Not even in the agenda of the Third Council does it appear; it is only mentioned, as title of the cult to which king Asoka gave munificent support,² in a chronicle which is held to have come into written form nearly seven centuries after his reign.

As to the formula-word *saraṇaṇ*: *saraṇaṇ* is (I believe) always rendered by ‘refuge.’ There is some justification for this, for it is occasionally found associated with the words *tāṇa* and *leṇa*, both terms for hiding places. But of these three, to reserve the rendering ‘refuge,’ ‘a place one flees to,’ for *saraṇaṇ*, is going too far. ‘Refuge’ fits better for either of the other two. The idea of seclusion, of escape-from-peril (*abhaya*), belongs more especially to them. Thus in Dhammapada, 288:—

Sons are no shelter (*tānāya*), nor father, nor any kinsfolk;
o’ertaken by death, for thee bloodbond is no refuge (*tāṇatā*).

(cf. Saṃyutta, i, 55; Anguttara, i, 155 f.). But *saraṇaṇ*, in the sense of ‘abode,’ may (1) be found as proving, by accident, to be no refuge:—

Just as one may with water extinguish a burning house (saraṇaṇ) . . . (Sutta-Nipāta, 590);

¹ *Milindapañha*, p. 90 f.

² See Calc.-Bairat-Edict.

(2) occur as indicative of the profitable company of a wise man:—

*Whoso is knower, lover of musing . . . (chosen) resort (saraṇaṇ)
of many (ib. 503).*

A 'going (to)' is the literal meaning of *saraṇaṇ*, and this emphasizes rather a *willed objective* than hurried, fearful flight. It was of the essence of Sakya that the right Wayfaring was a matter, not of priestly shepherding in observances, but of deliberate spontaneous choice, *dhammena* in conduct:—

dhammaṇ caratha: walk you by *dharma* (your inward monitor).

I repeat, there is here no rigid exclusion of the idea of a refuge as being implicated. Such an idea had greatly grown with the Buddhological and ecclesiastical cult of the day, when this threefold formula was worded. Yet does this growth not render needless the purging of the meaning in *saraṇaṇ*. Since there was *no word* which the first Sakyans could use to mean 'chosen faring,' 'willed resort,' I have ventured to insert a word which, I am convinced, was implied.

The novice would, in the next place, have to have his feet firmly placed on the soil of the moral life. Here we have formulated matter older than the trinity of the Three Ideas as such. The Aversions are not even called by the name of the five or the ten *sīlas* (moral habits), as called they came to be and still are called. We have the older Pīṭaka term: 'words or ways of training'—*sikkhāpadāni*. But we have the ten, not the five only. That is, we have here, not a layman's 'primer,' but a monk's. Even of the first or 'lay' five, the third requires the chastity, not of the lay housefather, but of the monk, however much it be explained away, so overshadowed was religious teaching for the Many by that for the religious. The latter five are held to be for the monk only. But both number and inclusiveness in the moral code varied even within the Pīṭakas. Readers will find this clearly set forth in Rhys Davids's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 138-40, 160.

These ten 'vows,' as they might be called, occur in the latter portion of the Vinaya Piṭaka (Mahāvagga, I, § 56; Oldenberg inverted the orthodox order of the parts), where the verb *samādiyāmi*, I undertake, or take upon me, is not found. In the very scanty materials available to C. the variants are also omitted. Mr. Helmer Smith, in his edition of the Commentary from a richer apparatus, does not inform us of the *proportion of these contexts* in which the verb occurs. Its presence, as expressing a positive and sacramental resolve by each man or woman (adult or child), compensates in some degree for the negative attitude in each resolve—an attitude of the ancient world, shared by the moral code of the Jew. (Be it noted that there was no possibility of saying 'I will not' in Pali or Indian dialects.) The verb as gerund is found in conjunction with moral training (*sikkhā*) throughout the Piṭakas, from Dīgha I, i onwards, but so far I have not met with the 'I undertake' save here.

'Aversion': *veramanī*:—the usual freer rendering here is 'abstaining from'; in Saxon English, 'holding aloof from.' The latter is used by Rhys Davids for the 'Minor Moral Code' of the Dīgha (I, i), where the Pali variant is *paṭivirato*. For this word the Dīgha Commentary has only *vi-rato*, *o-rato*, expressing entirely dispelled desire. The more sophisticated Commentary of the Khp. has a forced exegesis of *veramanī* (i.e., *vi-ā-ram*: gone [is] delight in), bringing in *vera*, anger, which the man in professing has eschewed. It seems to me that European Buddhists have nothing to fear from literal honesty in this word. 'To abstain from' is the result of 'aversion as to.' But if they will read their Suttas, notably the Upāli Sutta (Majjhima, No. 56), they will see how well kept in mind was the man's acts (e.g., abstaining) as being the outcome of the *expression of himself in his thought and feeling* (aversion).

In the fifth *sīla* we see again variety in wording; not this time in the form of the vow, but in substance. It stands in the Vinaya reference as in the Khp., but in the Dīgha reference it is omitted, not only from these

first five, but also from all the many following items of things to be avoided. And where it does occur, in the *Sīla* Book of the *Dīgha*, is in the items of good character in a young *Brahman*, enumerated of him by a senior *Brahman* (*Dīgha* I, v, 26). Neither Rhys Davids nor Franke comments on this in their translations! Nor does either render the *sīla* as here—namely, neither notices, in the long compound of drink, the word *thāna*—*surā-merayamaṇṇa-pamāda-tthānaṇ*—meaning ‘place’ or ‘occasion’ more often than just ‘matter.’ Now there is enough episodical matter in the Commentaries, especially those of *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada*, to show no lack of *occasions* (of uncertain antiquity) for the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors; nor is anywhere any sign that, at any time in the past, things had not been so. It seems to me, that the thing condemned in the *sīla* is not the sensible use of liquors, but the habit, the frequency, the occasions for, indulging in them. Had the early Sakyaans judged that teetotalism was to be ranked with cardinal moral observances, it is incredible that this fifth *sīla* should have been omitted from the great list of the *Dīgha*. Yet the Buddhist tradition has grown up and remains, that ‘prohibition’ is the only orthodox way.

One more instance of variety in the *sīlas* is in speech. In the *Vinaya* reference, and here, only lying is condemned; in the *Dīgha* (I, i) and elsewhere in the *Suttas*, slander and rough speech and gossip are condemned equally with lying. (Two of these three are condemned in the *Pātimokkha* rules.)

In the last of the Ten, the compound *jātarūpa-rajata* is the word used in the tenth claim for a wider liberty, which was condemned at the *Vesālī* (or ‘Second’) Council. The words for gold are many and vague; the Commentary here says *suvaṇṇaṇ*, also vague. But in *rajata* it included the *kahāpana* (probably bronze), and *māsakas* (fractions of the former) of lead, wood and lac. I give this for what it is historically worth. On the claim itself I have a little word in my *Sakya*, p. 354 f.

The novice appears to be then directed (III) to a contemplation in detail of the body. This growth of analytical interest in anatomy was not of the Sakyans only. We see it stirring in the Katha and Śvetâsvatara Upanishads; in the Maitri Upanishad, which I place at about the time of the Sakyan Founder, we have the man's weakness deprecated in a list of parts scarcely half the length of the present one, but in one respect adding to it. I seem to see, in the time-spirit, an evolution the reverse of our own evolution. Physiology stimulated our new psychology; our first psychologists were mainly doctors. In India, the new analysis of the mind as distinguishable from the man or self, started by the (?) Ksatriya Kapila, and later called Sāṅkhya, gave, as I believe, *a stimulus to the analytical consideration of the body*.

We are not, in the later Sakyan cult, left in doubt as to the motive for such a consideration. The Commentary expressly states that attentive study of the body (*kāyagatā satī*), to which such importance came to be attached, was that 'the monk should consider it, from top to toe, as a *plenum* of manifold impurities,' a study 'which was outside the range of other cults' (p. 38). And there was this also to be considered, that there was no person, no man lurking in any portion of the *plenum*; thus 'the hairs have no knowledge that they have grown from the scalp, nor the scalp any knowledge that hairs have grown on me,' and so on with unwearying repetition throughout the thirty-two parts (p. 42 ff.).

This has, at first sight, the appearance of pious conformity to the second recorded Mantra (or 'sermon') of the Founder: *rupaṇ anattā*, etc. As a fact it indicates a very fatal departure from that solemn warning. When that was uttered, the religion of the first Sakyans, *i.e.*, that also of the best minds of India was in no doubt whatever that (a) the man or very self existed, (b) that he must on no account be held to be identical with the living manifest vehicles of body and mind. But when the kind of exegesis was being uttered which we read

in the Commentaries, the conviction of the reality of the spiritual man had been long a-dying. It was to eject *any trace of him* in any of the dhamma's or minded things, which were then held to make up the man-complex, that we get this meticulous hunt carried out.

Herewith ends, I believe, the portion of a later time which, when the manual was written as a *pāṭha*, or text, came to be placed first. It differs greatly from the remainder. It bears the hall-mark of the cult, the Church, the Code. But, in that there is no word, however brief, on the growing significance of the mind—that dummy man of Hinayāna—no word of analysis of mind such as was yet later to be held of utmost importance, I believe that these three sections will have been drawn up previously to the day of the Patna Council, a day when Abhidhamma analyses had mainly taken shape.

We come now to No. IV.

The title of this ancient framework for memorizing is of no little interest. If indeed it be as old as the gradual questions themselves, it suggests that the early Sakyan missionizers used it in their talks with young Kṣatriyas (nobles), *kumāra* being the current appellative for such, *and for such only*, just as the young Brahman was always addressed as *mānava*, and the burgess's son was addressed as 'householder's son' (e.g., in *Sigālovāda* Sta., *Dīgha* No. 31). But when, in later centuries, the Commentaries took final form in writing in Ceylon, any boy *might*, in them, be called *kumāra*. For in them we find the catechism accredited to the answers made by a pariah's son, Sopāka, undergoing a morning catechism from the Bhagavā, who had on a previous occasion rescued him from a terrible death (see *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 65), an origin which is more than unlikely.

When we meet with the Questions peeping out in Commentaries—e.g., in that on the *Therīgāthā* and that on the *Jātaka*—we are taken no further than Question 1: 'One! what is it?' But we are left with a twofold impression. Firstly, in two of the three passages, the

teacher questioning is Sāriputta. Secondly, the effect of the question is notable. Either the hearer is dumb-struck, or he runs away.¹ (Readers of the Jātaka references will not have connected the question with this tenfold category, because the translators have themselves not recognized it, and have translated the *ekaṃ nāma* simply as 'one single question.'). From this impression I incline to infer the following:—that a memory of the one-time high importance attaching to this little catechism reverberated down the centuries, and in these latter days shows us that it will have been, in form at least, a way in which early Sakya taught, and taught certain points which it emphasized. And further, that the Founder's right-hand man Sāriputta was especially associated in tradition with just the teaching of these points so taught. Be it noted, too, that there is one parable with which he is also repeatedly associated, and he only:—the parable of 'the gentleman's robing himself,' illustrating the way in which a worthy man presides over and chooses his minding, and is not dictated to by his mind. This is here of significance.

In this way namely. In the parable Sāriputta is insisting, not only on a proper command of faculties, but, and I think chiefly, on the fact and reality of the man over against his mind. This is not because, in his day, the reality of the man was yet doubted, but because a tendency was then coming up to see the man in his mind, his minding. This tendency was rated as dangerous by the Brahman Kaushitaki, perhaps a contemporary, perhaps even an acquaintance of the Brahman Sāriputta. In the catechism of the One, etc., there is no actual mention of the man until the last question. On the other hand, it is obvious that the items in each answer are meaningless unless they are one and all referred to the man, as constituting his nature and destiny. We should see this acknowledged in the last answer, if we had in our text a true version of it. I return to this presently.

¹ *Pss. of the Sisters*, p. 66; *Jātaka*, Nos. 244, 301, *Introd.*

I come to the specific answers. These are for me partly of the original teaching, partly they are later replacements: a mixture not at all strange in an ancient, long unwritten tradition. Of variants in the answers written down in this recension, perhaps the more interesting is one surviving as taught by a nun-Therī, known to us, alas! only as She-of-Kajangala (an unknown village with a Bamboo Grove), to whom villagers went for religious instruction. The framework itself has undergone embroidery—it needs it. Of the answers, 1-3 are as in Khp.; but 4 and 5 are the ‘Sati-paṭṭhānas’ and ‘Indriyas,’ 7 the ‘stations of the man-as-surviving’ (*viññāṇa-tṭhitiyo*), and 10 the ‘Courses of Action’ (*kammapaṭṭhā*), which seem to be, now the five sīlas and their opposites, now, as in the Atthasālinī, all wrong courses (Anguttara, v, 50 ff., Asl. 97-102).

The first four answers I hold to be ancient. Thus the first answer suggests the taking up the explicit stand over against that asceticism which was countenanced to a growing extent when Sakya started, notably by the Jains, and by other more pronouncedly self-mortifying cults, but which, in the first Sakyan Mantra or 'Sermon,' is repudiated. Man in his earth-body needed food, nor was he efficient in Becoming for the stinting of it. The teaching has echoes in the shorter Theragāthā Sayings: thus Gosāla, refreshed by porridge and honey, his mother's alms, finds spiritual progress aided:

*Lo ! I who in the bamboo thicket dined
Off rice and honey . . . hied me back
Up on my hill, to foster there the growth . . . (verse 23).*

Pindola-Bhāradvāja, referring to the reply to Question 1, admits its force, if with a *caveat*:

Not without rule and method must we live.
But food as such is never near my heart.
'By nutriment the body is sustained':
This do I know, and hence my quest for alms (verse 123).

Food was the basis of man's earth-values.

As to the second answer: *nāma* and *rūpa* belong to very early Indian thought.¹ Buddhism rationalized them in its own way, making *nāma* equate with mind and *rūpa* answer for body. Not such was their earlier import. *Rūpa* was the 'seen man' as known to others; 'name' lent him the stamp of being a very man or *ātmā*, as does the name in primitive culture the world over. He was ever and always what we see, *and something more*. The name symbolized that unique More.

The third answer is also old, but not in its later psychological form, as here. *Vedanā* is really 'knowing,' not 'feeling.' And the three ways of knowing are act, speech, thought. Such were the original *vedanā*'s:—the man's knowing by way of deed, word and thought. We have but to take the word *vedanā* in conjunction with its verb *vedeti*, *vedayita*, to experience, experienced, to be aware that our modern specialization in consciousness must not here be applied with any rigour. At the same time, there is plainly, in the Pīṭakas, a hedonistic, or emotional emphasis on *vedanā*, revealing an emergent preoccupation with 'feeling,' and an analysis which will have come in with the influence of Sāṅkhya teaching.

In Answer 4, the *ariya-saccāni* (worthy true things) were not, I believe, originally the 'four truths' of later monkish gloss and emphasis. These have ill in the forefront—the monk's chief justification for leaving the world and living on others—and form a very gospel of emphasis on ill. As we have seen, the nun of Kajangala placed here the Four Ways of Introspection (*satipatthānā*). And it is worth recalling, that in the Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma's, or last things said to have been enjoined as leading studies by the dying Founder, the four truths about ill, as a category among categories, *are not mentioned*. Also, that the way of their inclusion, for a category now ranked as the very centre of Buddhist teaching. in the early summary of points of doctrine in the Sangiti Suttanta, is curious: the list of Fours *begins* with the *Satippatthāna*'s, and only drags in, so to speak,

¹ Cf., e.g., to go back no further, *Chān. Up.* 6, 3, 2; *Brh. Up.* 1, 4, 6.

the four 'True Things' as a *supplemented* Four Knowledges (*ñāṇāṇi*): 'knowledge as to ill, origin, ending, way' (Item xii). Even the Commentary of our work cannot refer the Four to the familiar Ill-category. The nun's dictum bars the way, and he can only work round to these Four by conceding alternative interpretations of his text.

If we read the original reply as having been probably the *Satipatthāna*'s, we have a category older, I believe, than the Ill-truths, and only distorted by later decadent interpretation. I read the Four: 'body, *vedanā*, *citta*, *dharmā*,' as having originally been: the man introspective about (1) body, (2) ways of knowing (through the body), (3) valuing what he came to know, and lastly (4) *dharma*, That who was directing his inner world, immanent Deity. I am not asserting that there were no 'true things' on which those Ill-truths were based, of which they were a distortion, but it is possible they were merged in Way-teaching.

We come to the fifth answer, the important pentad called *khandhā*, or as here and very frequently in the Pitakas, *upādāṇa-kkhandhā*. The prefix indicates an intensified monastic outlook, colouring what I might call the Sāṅkhyan or analytic interest in the man regarded as a manifold. That the man *was* the khandhas was not only not original Sakya—far from it—it was repudiated repeatedly and in detail in the Suttas, in the formula known as the 'Sakkāya-view,' or view as to the man as presented in the many ways, as a manifold phenomenon. (The *sa* in *sa-kkāya* was an early way of intensifying the noun—on this see above, p. xxxv.) But I am strongly persuaded that the five which came in and persisted were not an original five. That the body was No. 1 I would allow. It is the most impressive 'way' of the man, But the four, later called *a-rūpino khandhā*, or incorporeal, are a confused and mutually overlapping tetrad, the despair of translators, and unlikely to have been the simpler, clearer pronouncement of a young struggling group of missionaries. I can conceive them distinguishing the man as *experiencing* in

sense (*vedanā*), as *cognizing* through sense (*citta*), as *remembering* (*sati*), as *valuing* amid the data of this world of experience (*manas*, lit. measuring). I do not seem to see *viññāna* included among these four. It was not originally a way of experiencing; it was outside them; it was *another name for the man himself*, a name linking him here on earth with his 'right of way' in other worlds. We can see this from several contexts: thus, each life is a 'station' for the *viññāna*; the *viññāna* is set free at death to fare further; the *viññāna* is that which 'fares on, runs on, speaker, valuer,' from life to life. But as the man became more and more merged in the mind, the Holy Thing it was his to become ever more fading out from the new religious monastic values, *viññāna* became just one mental phenomenon among others, and to see a persisting entity in it was severely scourged.¹ It is only seen lingering in the commentarial literature as the *patisaṅkhi-viññāna*, or the dying 'minding' which was to determine the non-*arahan's* next rebirth. And we find these three: *citta*, *mano*, *viññāna*, explicitly equated, even though they are never defined in identical terms. A few centuries later, a partial rehabilitation of the priority and importance of *viññāna* took place; it became a name for the total experience of 'minding,' in which many factors called *cetasikas* ('mentals'), both constants and such as were contingent only, were distinguished.² But the man who had *been* the ancient *viññāna*, even as God (Brahman) was *viññānamaya*, came not again into his own—not, that is, in South Asia. In India, he did come again.

With regard to Question 6, I think we have here a subject which only came to be of prominent interest at a comparatively late date. I shall not meet with agreement, but for me the curious iteration of the five channels of sensation and the receptive, measuring mind (*mano*) belongs to the time when what came to be called Abhidhamma, or study supplementary to Dhamma study, was to the fore. My conviction is not upset by

¹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, No. 38.

² Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S. *passim*.

the reiteration in Dhamma—viz., in Suttas—of these six. This reiteration I see as part of the reshaping, the editing that will have gone on, say, during the years (I say 'years' advisedly, not 'months') of the Patna revisionary labours. In this little catechism we are, I hold, dealing with a framework of very early date. And this means that we are in a field of missionary activity, not of ecclesiastical or academic range. Now mission talk to the world, not to the cloister, does not think in terms of psycho-physical analysis, however rudimentary. And I think it *more likely* that the original six were points *more akin* to those of the six to ten *anussati*'s (points to be kept in mind), which occur here and there from Sutta-groups down to Visuddhi-Magga, than the six we now find here. In time the growing influence of Sāṅkhya analysis, of mind as distinct from the man, would encroach upon the older mission-teaching, showing itself in the wearisome iteration on sense and sense-objects, which so mars the directness and force of the Suttas as religious teaching. It is hard to find in the Suttas any mention of a sixfold *organ*-list without a corresponding *object*-list. But here, the framework being old, there was no room for more, and we may call the one sextad the thin edge of the wedge.

I am certainly not suggesting that the original six corresponded to the usual six *anussati*'s, or to the ten. It would be necessary to excise from both the initial threefold trinity: 'Buddha,' etc. I incline to think it more likely that, inasmuch as the following 'seven,' in our questions, give an unfolding of the man as becoming, of the man as a More, we might look in the vanished 'six' for some description of the *man as willing*, or, since there was a lack of words for that, for the *man as putting forth effort to become the more*. It is too much overlooked how fresh and vital, even in the man-handled scriptures, is the stress laid on *virīya*, *vāyāma*, or how essential to the meaning of the Way-gospel is the vision of the willing, striving, choosing wayfarer. But, as Garbe would say, I have nothing here I can lay hold of to buttress surmise.

I would mention here how, in this answer, S. improves upon C.'s inadequate rendering: 'die sechs dem Selbst angehörenden Gebiete': the six fields belonging to the Self (not 'the six organs of sense'). The word *ajjhat-tika* (a corruption of the Vedic *adhyātma-ka*) is one of the more important links between Sakya and the religious teaching at its birth; it keeps the very man, the self, to the front. We have pushed him out of our mind-analyses, just as Sakya in time came to do; and hence it will have seemed to Childers not inaccurate to convert the venerable much-saying word *ajjhata* into the quite modern concept of 'organ' of sense. *Ajjhatta* is one of those not-submerged reefs of original Buddhism calling to us, unheeding: Before *anattā* was, I Am!

In the seventh answer we have the man as I have described; in other words, we have what may well be an original category of the man's spiritual development: we have him introspective, alert to the monition of dharma, strenuous, joyous, serene, concentrated, poised. Here is for me the 'old rock'; here, rather than in the reply given to the nun, viz. the 'seven stations of *viññāna*,' a term for mind, as I have said above, in which the entity of the man lingered. These stations are in the *Dīgha* listed both as four and as seven (the *Saṃyutta* has only the four; the *Anguttara* only the seven; the *Majjhima* has neither). The four are the man-as-*viññāna* in each of the other four 'khandhas.' The seven stations are about the man as in this and other worlds, and so overlap the ninth reply. It is almost inconceivable that, in so concise a table as are these answers, we should see so irrational an *original* choice.

In the eighth answer we have to all seeming the Way of the First Utterance as it came to be parcelled out in modes of thought, word and deed, and so have C. and S. assumed. But this is to be wiser, not merely than the uncertainly dated Commentary, but also than the Sutta in the *Anguttara* of the Kajāṅgalā's teaching of the Ten, so emphatically endorsed, according to the anxious editors, by the Bhagavā himself. (It was usually held wise to take this precaution when the

speaker had been a woman!) According to the highly sanctioned utterance of the Kajangalan, the eight were '*lokadhamma*'s,' worldly matters, an attitude of indifference towards which is enjoined, under the Eights, in the Eights Book of the Anguttara: 'the world revolves about these eight things and these about the world: gain and no gain, fame and no fame, blame and praise, pleasure and pain' (iv, 156 f.). According to my own belief, neither have we here the original answer. The nun's eight are mainly of the requisite attitude in a member of a religious society. But the first men, the Sakyan missionaries, were out after something bigger than such considerations, and foremost for them was their leader's figure of the Way and that for which it was symbol. Now the Way was of man's life as a whole, and not a matter of one short earth-span only. It would soon *tend* to be considered in this or that detail; and at some time or other the eightfold division, with which alone books have made readers familiar, will have been drawn up, superseding¹ a probably earlier threefold aspect of wayfaring by deed, word and thought, a division earlier than Sakya itself. But these divisions lose sight of *the Way as being of interworld life*; hence for me the other Eightfold Division into four (*maggā*) stages, and four realizations, or 'fruits,' is earlier than the more ecclesiastical one which begins with the Fit (or Right) View. Here, although the names of the stages may have been altered, we have the Way rightly viewed; it was way of life in the worlds and, again, it was a Way of Becoming. The Becoming was negatively viewed, it is true, as a getting rid of. We see this concisely stated in the Dhammasangani (§§ 362-64), where the analysis of the 'thought,' or receptive *citta*, is placed in a framework of progress from the first to the fourth way. Progress is worded as a diminishing and ultimate riddance of the lower nature. But no positive ideal which is negatively worded can avoid being worsened,

¹ It is usually overlooked that in the Sangīti Suttanta the Way is not called *atthangika*, and the *attha angāni* (eight parts) appear only as the category of the eight *Sammattā* or Fitnesses!

yea, eventually lost sight of in the long run. This is what befell 'becoming' (*bhava*), as the truth figured by the Way.

The first stage of the Way was positively named: 'reaching the stream' (*sotāpatti*), which is a synonym of the Way. To reach this was to believe that salvation (*amata*) was to be attained in and by becoming. The next two stages of a growing diminution in the undesirable qualities were negatively named: coming (to rebirth) once (only), and not coming (back) to rebirth—viz., to earth—but passing out utterly in some more desirable world—a belief frequently mentioned in the Anguttara. The last stage was the becoming arahān. These three I judge to have been later *names*, the last as possibly a change from the old *summum bonum* of *Artha*, a word which is in the First Utterance, but which has been thrust aside to let in four terms, which are rather terms of becoming, or wayfaring to perfection, than indicative of its accomplishment. Perfected humanity is too great a thing, too little conceivable as yet, to be seen in the person of any arahān or saint, however he or she may relatively tower over contemporaries. It is of no little interest, too, to see that the Dhammasaṅgani makes no mention of any name for the second and remaining Ways; it calls them simply *dutiyo maggo*, etc. It is only *in the Commentary* that we meet with the Once-Returning, etc.

The Way, as presenting a problem of becoming either gradually, or by leaps and bounds, is seen to have been still occupying the world of Sakya at the time of the Patna Council, in the contemporary portion of the Kathāvatthu (Book I, 3 f.). That a better terminology for the stages should not have persisted, when the word *pāda* (cf. *Iddhipāda*) was to hand, is curious. Curious too is the parallel, and mutually ignoring insistence in the Piṭakas on the Way of the eight '*angas*' (right view, etc.) and the Way of the stages and the fruits. So independent is the insistence on the one and the other that, in the Vibhaṅga, for example, a new-comer would not naturally identify the Way as in both cases the

one and the same. In both enumerations the great symbol of Becoming, of growth, had become a formula in the hands of 'the creatures of a Code.'

Answer 9 shows the worlds to and from which, and through which, the Way led. That there were then, as now, many different conceivings of these and many names for them is fairly evident. If, for example, we compare *Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii, 253, 259 with iii, 263 f., and with *Anguttara-Nikāya*, i, 210, and other such contexts, we get no wholly consistent scheme. Interesting is the name *āvāsā*, or, as we might say, 'mansions,' lit. 'dwellings at.' The corresponding list, in the *Dīgha* context above, used the word for certain world-mansions. But the word is, in the *Piṭakas*, used also for any mansion, both for that of a layman, and for those primitive 'monasteries' which consisted in a cluster of little cells or *vihāras*, whether 'located in a park (*ārāma*),'¹ or in some uncleared woodland. It was fit that the early Sakyans, for whom the Way of the Worlds was their outlook on life as a whole, should speak of all and any world in their 'Right of Way' as a mansion. It suggests frequent communication with the men of other worlds, such as is so prominent a surviving feature in the records about the Founder's intercourse. It suggests a plenum in other-world life, of space refilled with inhabitants, also in the Way, and busied also over the great adventure of life-in-the-becoming. There is nothing of *Suñña*, the void, about *āvāsa*, or of a waning out of energy put forth by body or mind.

But *āvāsa* in time gave way to the word *bhava*, becomings; the growth, for which each *āvāsa* was a fresh opportunity, was substituted for the means itself. And as the attitude prompting the threefold shibboleth—impermanent, ill, not-self—gained ground, the new *āvāsa* was held to be, not so much a new-born opportunity for *bhava*, as a disaster. Thus we get to the monstrous *volte-face*, in Buddhist history, that the very thing in man's nature symbolized by the Way became

¹ Cf. *Early Buddhist Monachism*, by S. D. Dutt, pp. 125 f., 181.

the best abused word in its scriptures. No monkish word of abuse is too bad to fling at *bhava*.¹

Finally the tenth answer:—the Kajangala nun is shown giving a different one from that before us. The Commentator, quoting her, fills in our context with a different ten taken from Anguttara, v, 221, where, to the query: What constitutes an adept (*asekha*)? a Way of not eight but ten factors (*anga*'s) is given. I do not know how soon *asekha* and its equivalent *arahāṇa* came to have the exaggerated worth assigned these terms in the Canon, but for me neither term so valued belongs to the original teaching. That which I find noteworthy in the curt answer is the first and only appearance of the Man. We have seen his food-base noted, his equipment, or, as we could say—they could not—his instruments, his three modes of coming to know, his four central true things, and much else about him, but it is just here, when all is in the picture save the real subject of it, that the subject himself is put in. And albeit my guess will be discredited, I am for seeing, in the original answer, *the Man who has the foregoing nine forms of wealth (bhoga)*, he himself thus making the tenth question and reply.

I leave this intriguing ruin of an ancient catechism with just this word of general comment. Nothing perhaps is more characteristic of our present partial and unhistorical knowledge of the Pali Piṭakas than the tendency to jump to conclusions, that certain labels for teachings must always have identical contents. No doubt has arisen, for example, for my two predecessors, S. and C., or for other writers, that the 'eightfold way' must of necessity mean the Way of the First Utterance, or that the 'four Ariyan true things' must mean the fourfold enunciation on ill, its cause and ending, also to

¹ 'Bodily life, with its three fires of disease, old age and dying: this is what *bhava* actually stood for in monastic eyes. Branded as canker (*āsava*), as latent morbid tendency (*anusaya*), as wrong view (*diṭṭhī*), as flood (*ogha*), as yoke (*yoga*), "as mode of craving (*taṇhā*), the stopping of it ranked as *nirvāṇa*" (*bhava-nirodho nibbānaṇ*)' (*Sakya*, p. 161). To these add the foulnesses of Ang. i. 34.

be found in (and appended to) that Utterance. And so we find S., usually so accurate, passing over the Nun's version of the latter (of which he was aware), and saying that we have here 'den Grundstock der Buddhalehre'—(Heaven forbid!). Yet it is plain that, where the Piṭakas themselves (and with them the Commentary) offer varying versions, the pre-Piṭakan teaching may have offered at least as much of variety from the staple, emphasized Piṭakan version.

V

I pass now to the poems (Articles V to IX).

The opening of the first is a stock commencement to numberless Suttas, and the opening words have been associated with Ānanda, doubtless deriving from the probably true tradition, that at the First Council he was much questioned as to the degree of accuracy which connected a certain Saying with a certain place and occasion. It is a very likely thing to have happened in a bookless community.

But in this case Ānanda's part is a little overdone by the Commentary. A sophisticated attempt has been made to do away with the *deva* as the actual questioner. After an elaborate introduction, the vision and the question are made out to be Ānanda's pious thought-reading of a pious *deva*'s mind, desirous of having information on the best quality in luck. Ānanda passes this on to his greater cousin Gotama, who thereupon gives reply. Now Ānanda was not proficient in *abhijñā*, was not 'psychic' (cf. Saṃyutta-Nikāya, ii, 2, 10). It forms a curious picture of altered values. The earlier world of a quickened revelation has evolved into a fading of such revelations and an earthly worship of a man on earth.

Buddhists prefer to see the word *mangala* rendered by 'blessing.' S. is more fortunate in his medium, in which 'Glück' (i.e., *ge-luck*) means both luck and happiness. But very different is his medium in *Segen*, 'blessing,' and it has fortunately not occurred to him

to see that in *mangala*. There is no doubt that he is right, and English translators wrong. The act of blessing—i.e., of willing, or even prophesying, good luck—may be held to aid its coming to pass, but in neither noun nor verb are the two, blessing and luck, identical. The useful references in the P.T.S. Dictionary make the coincidence of *mangala* with luck very clear. And luck is the desired, the alluring (German *lockend*), but uncertain conjuncture of things to come.

To sanctify the religious demurring to the pagan associations of this word, it was natural for English and American converts to Buddhism to substitute the Biblical tradition attaching to 'blessing.' But blessing is not a good fit in the Sutta. In the Gospels Jesus is never made to use this word, which in Greek is 'eulogy,' 'well-speaking.' In the Epistles it is plentifully used, often in linking up the new word of the young Church with the venerable Jewish tradition, where one or more Hebrew words rendered as 'blessing' are, as we know, frequent.

VI.

It is not here only in the Piṭakas that a person or attribute very precious is called jewel (*ratana*). The figure applies to a young maiden (Sutta-Nipāta, 836), to wisdom (*paññā*, Dhs., § 16), and to the infant Bodhisat Siddhattha (Sutta-Nipāta, 683), but the *triad* of jewels, instead of the traditional seven kinds of gems, or the seven jewels, or appanages of a world-ruler (*chakkavatti*), albeit very frequently found in later works, is in this Sutta, I believe, as applied to the ecclesiastical trinity of the Buddhist Church, unique (?).

The line (p. 149, l. 3):

e'en though (in life) preoccupied . . .

is not very clear in meaning. C. does not reveal heart-searchings about it as does S., who has perhaps been more alive to the difficulty. The Pali quite literally is: 'Although they are (or become, or were, or have been—

all four are correct for *honti*) plentifully strenuous.' C., referring to Dhammapada, 355, quotes Gogerly's rendering: 'they cannot by any allurements be brought . . . ' and himself renders less evasively by 'however much they be distracted by the temptations of this world.' He then quotes the Commentary, but without noticing, or perhaps appreciating, the argument in it. This is, that such more-deserving men, even though, when reborn on earth, they will come in for opportunities of pleasurable indulgence, *bhusa-ppamāda-tthānaṇ*, as a reward for their worth, will nevertheless not thereby forfeit the reward of rebirth in happier worlds than on earth. For me this is more plausible than S.'s finding *-alpamātra* ('very insignificant') in *bhusappamatta*. It is more old-world-Indian; moreover, I am not convinced that, without the affix *-ka*, *appamatta* was ever applied to a person. I may be wrong.

VII.

The poem on offerings to kinsfolk gone before—it occurs also in the Peta-vatthu—has all the interest of a surviving rudimentary organ. By this I mean, first, that it is evidently very old, so badly and so unintelligently has it been edited by men having other values; secondly, that at some time it betrays something, at one time, of use and value. The custom of offerings to departed fathers (or Manes, if the word be preferred) was much earlier than the birth of Sakya. And we can well imagine that the first Sakyans would, through guidance as to values in the next world received in Jhāna by the Founder and some others, be well aware that material offerings of food and the like were out of place, were neither needed nor could be handled. But to remember the departed in amity and tenderness was praiseworthy, and it was the remembering them, since, for most, further intercourse was impracticable, that the departed valued the will for the deed. But it will not have been easy for the Sakyan teachers to

persuade the many to divest a pious and loving act of memory of its pagan trappings. When in later days monastic sympathy turned from interest in the life in the next world, it was not to be expected that a poem, which had to be left in because it was so venerable a tradition, would be edited in Pali and written down with discernment or sympathy. Perhaps few things in the Piṭakas are less edifying than a comparison of this pathetic, clumsily handled little poem with the records of the Founder's intercourse with the Beyond, and the many flocking to him for information of those loved and lost.

'Now at that time,' we read, 'the Exalted One was wont to make declarations as to the rebirths of such followers as had passed away . . . on every side . . . saying: Such an one has been reborn there; . . . and there. . . . Now the followers when they heard these revelations were filled with happiness . . . ' (Dīgha-Nikāya, ii, 201; cf. 92). Here, in this Man of the two houses—to use the parable repeatedly ascribed to him—we have nothing of that silence imputed to him, when a certain sort of questioning was made to him. It was therefore a golden opportunity, while he, or Anuruddha, was there to enlighten, not to mention Moggallāna and Sāriputta, while they were yet on earth, to have drawn up from his sayings some coherent scheme of pronouncements concerning the world's greatest mystery. Scattered sayings are indeed recorded, but so little are they made connected and central, that Buddhists industriously pass them over. Notably is this the case with the after-death tribunal (*Sakya*, 8, 277 f.). But the Way-doctrine tended to become more and more a way not of the worlds, but of this-world-cum-Nirvana. And so we are left with this mangled poem.

In the words (l. 4 of the poem):

not one among those beings heedful was, because of deeds ill-done,

the line is not in the Pali clearly worded and has puzzled us translators. There was for the compilers a

firm belief in rebirth, but much ignorance as to the nature of other-world life. Thus offerings presupposing a subsistence on material food of a solid kind are tendered.

That the life-conditions of the Peta-world do not include the production of food:—this some Peta is represented as saying to some man of earth who is clairaudent. He is also trying to warn the earth, that the sufferings of Peta-life are due to moral heedlessness when the Petas were men on earth. It is just this heedlessness that is condemned at the above-mentioned tribunal. Yet so corrupt has the saying become, that the Peta is shown testifying to the need of food.

It is absurd to say of givers or of donees, that not one 'remembers.' This is precisely what offerings and acceptance show them to have done. We must use *sarati* in the sense, not of remembers, but of considers, or is aware, using the 'historical present.'

On the theory of merit (*puñña*) in this poem, see Introduction to Dhammapada, above, p. xxxi.

VIII.

That distinguishing of parts in a whole, which constitutes, anywhere and anywhen, a certain stage in man's knowledge, is, in our world built on Greek culture, called 'loosening-up,' analysis. In India's world it was conceived as 'breaking-off,' or '-away'—*vibhadya*, in Pali *vibhajjana*; or again as 'again-well-breaking'—*paṭi-sam-bhidā*. The same mental activity was, by both Indian and Buddhist Indian, expressed by *sāṅkhya*, *sankhā*, *paṭisankhāna*, meaning numbering, computing, calculating. But it was, in the infancy of Sakya, a new aspect of knowledge, growing fast, and much exercising Brahman teachers. In Sakya it influenced all the teaching of the inner world of man, and later it tended to disintegrate the current religion of the Divine in and as man, and to expound the man as a plurality of elements. The word *paṭisambhidā* does occur in the

Four Nikāyas, but only, I believe, in the Anguttara. In scholastic Pali it is of frequent occurrence, and as a feature of graduation in saintship: 'with the four *patisambhidās*.' (Cf. e.g., *Pss. of the Sisters*, p. 17, n. 1; cf. also the scholastic analyses and categories of the work: *Patīsambhidā-magga*, of the Fifth Nikāya.) This analytical teaching, amounting to a rudimentary anatomy and psychology, came in time so to dominate the outlook of the Sangha, that for a time, apparently during the great revision of oral sayings under Asoka, the new orthodoxy was known as the Vibhajjavādins. When once, after the revision and expulsions were over, the Vibhajjavādins had become 'The Sangha,' the term died out. We may witness the same dying out, after Christian Councils, of the victorious side's name.

IX.

The Khuddaka-pāṭha, had it totally disappeared from the Canon, would not have been missed had it not been for the last poem—and even that is in another book.¹ Whether or not this was taken over as it stands, by the early Sakyans, from that nameless Brahman who taught the televolition, not of amity alone, but of all four modes of it, known as Brahma-vihāras, 'divine bidings,' we know not. It is conceivable. I have gone into the matter in *Gotama the Man* and in *Sakya* (pp. 180 f. and Ch. XI. respectively). But in any case, for a religious man *of that day* the health and happiness he was willing another would be ascribed to the Godhead within himself discerning the growth, the becoming of a similar Godhead in his fellow-man.

Since to each man the Self so precious is,
Let the Self-lover harm no other man,

is said to have been a codicil added by Gotama to the Brahman teaching of his day.² S. rightly renders the

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, Metta-Sutta.

² *Sanyutta-Nikāya*, i, 75.

line (which was doubtless the original ending of the poem): 'dies nennt man hienieden ein Weilen in Gott,' and I follow him in literal accuracy. C. is altogether too free in his rendering.

It would not surprise me, did evidence ever come to hand, to learn that the poem was by a woman. In a monastic institution, such as Sakya came to be, the mother as such hardly gets a word in. There was no woman to mother, as son, the adult Gotama, as we have with Jesus, nor any great Mother-cult as background to, and influence in, the more adult Buddhism, as Christianity had in Egypt. Having no such venerable traditions to uphold, the monastic view, that the wife, the mother, the birth of children were only to 'make grow the charnelfield,'¹ came to be the more potent. And we must look closely into the greater anthologies to find the mother-love finding voice, as in Sānu's mother and the mother of Vaddha. But it is in connection with just the Brahmavihāras, both here and in the Visuddhi-Magga, that we meet with mother-love. Here, that love is the real and right type of the love of man for fellow-man as such; it is the *warding* of him. There, no less, where Buddhaghosa is probably repeating traditional matter, the four brahmavihāras are severally compared to the mother's love for her child at different stages of his growth, the monk-exponent failing miserably in the last comparison, and seeing the mother of an adult son ceasing her warding and reassuming 'poise' for her own benefit only.² And I can picture the possibility of a woman-disciple and fellow-teacher of the unknown Brahman of the Vihāra gospel, when he died and left no self-dependent community, casting in her lot with Sakya, and benefiting it by her quaint but wonderful little poem.

The poem, like that on the Jewels, has been admitted into the group of grouped sayings, which centuries later became completed, with addition of more scholastic matter, and called the Sutta-Nipāta. None the less, it remains the work of a woman or man of another centre

¹ *Therīaāthā*. verse 502.

² *Visuddhi-magga*. 321.

of values from that of Sakya. For the composer, 'amity' is the centre of the gospel. For the Sakyan, becoming, or growth, in the spirit or very man was the centre (in amity as only one among virtues). Nor is the very spirit of amity ever quoted in Sakyan records as 'Brahman,' save here only. Yet so forceful, because so, shall we say, ageless, has been the influence of the little poem, that it has sufficed to shift our modern valuation of Buddhism, and to gain for it the name of a gospel of goodwill, which in the first and foremost of its values, as of its utterances, it was not.

However the poem found its way into the Buddhist canon, it clearly will have been a welcome guest. All honour to the men who recognized its worth! And fitly does it round off, if we discount the three later formulas (I-III), a 'manual,' which began with a statement of the individual man, as he is, as he may become. Other is he, unlike, unique in his individuality, to 'the other man.' But in his aloneness he cannot 'become.' The other man must come along. 'The world' may be in the one man.¹ But the world is also in his fellow. He must know himself, the wise in East and West have said. But if this lead him not the better to know, the better to wayfare with, the fellow-man, he will not get far. If the 'One—what is that?' is like one who sings alone, the Amity verses are as a very marching chorus, an Ode to Joy,

*Alle Menschen seid gegrüßet!
Dieser Kuss der ganzen Welt!*

Here in the fellowship, not of men and women, but of the man-in-man lies the way, indicated in the little questions of The One, to that More in the man which it is his nature to be seeking.

Well may all creatures be and safe,
Becoming they-whose-Self-is-well!
Ay, amity for all the world, even
th' immeasurable mind let him make grow!

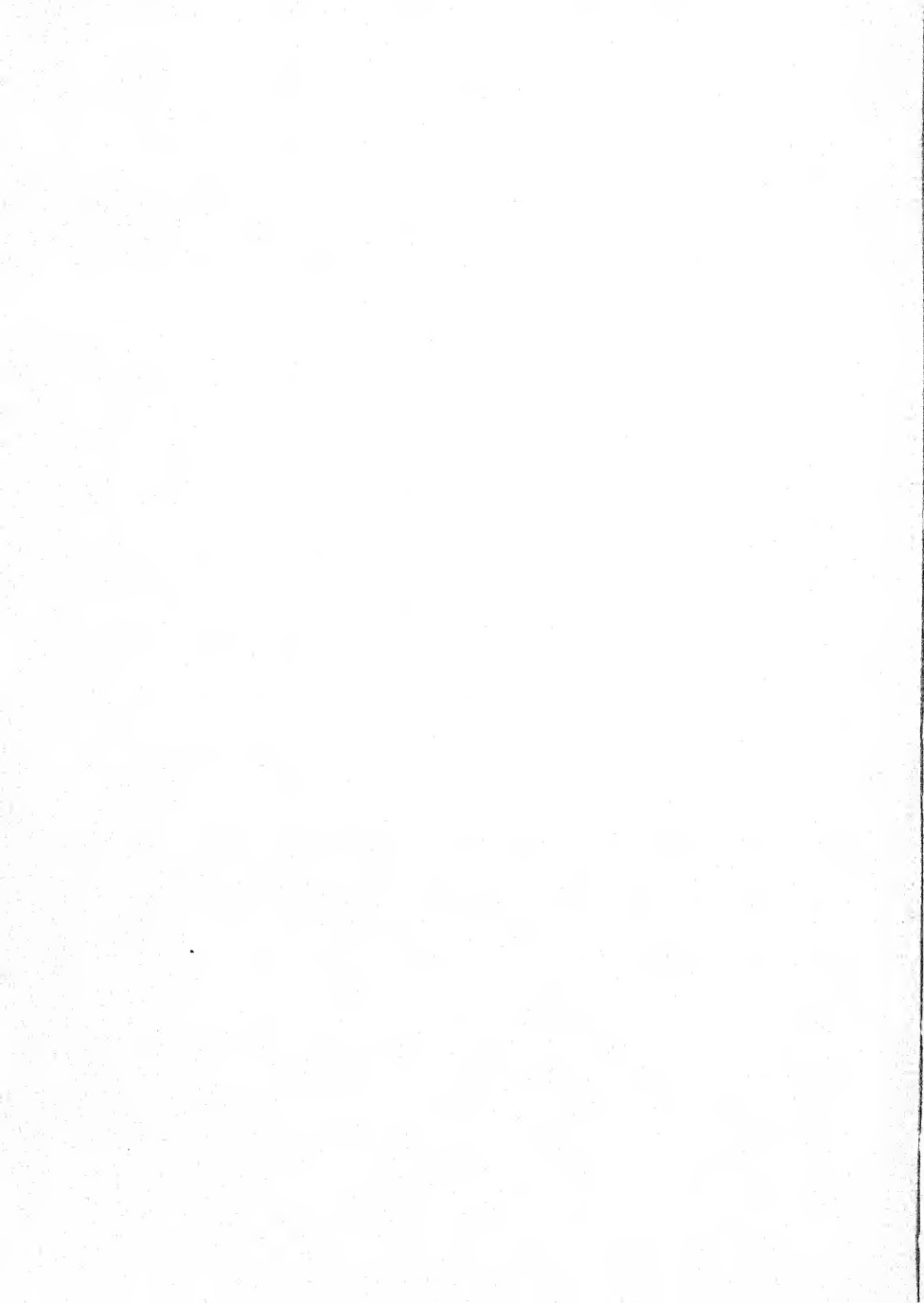
¹ 'In this fathom-long carcase, with ideas and measuring lies the world.' *Kindred Savinas*. i. 86.

MĀTIKĀ

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II
KHUDDAKA-PĀṬHA
(THE TEXT OF THE MINOR SAYINGS)

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA.

KHUDDAKA-PĀṬHA

I.

Buddhaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
dhammaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
saṅghaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi.
Dutiyam pi buddhaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
dutiyam pi dhammaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
dutiyam pi saṅghaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi.
Tatīyam pi buddhaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
tatīyam pi dhammaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi
tatīyam pi saṅghaṇ saraṇaṇ gacchāmi.

SARAṆATTAYAṆ.

II.

1. Pānātipātā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
2. adinnādānā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
3. abrahmacariyā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
4. musāvādā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
5. surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
6. vikālabhojanā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
7. naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
8. mālāgandhavilepanadhārāṇa-maṇḍanavibhūsanatṭhānā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
9. uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi,
10. jātārūparaṇatapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṇ samādiyāmi.

DASASIKKHĀPADAN.

THE TEXT OF THE MINOR (SAYINGS)

I. THE TRIPLE (CHOSEN) RESORT.

To the Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

To Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

To the Sangha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the second time to the Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the second time to Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the second time to the Sangha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the third time to the Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the third time to Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

For the third time to the Sangha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

II. THE TENFOLD COURSE.

The training in aversion from onslaught on creatures I undertake.

The training in aversion from taking the not given I undertake.

The training in aversion from (sexually) immoral conduct I undertake.

The training in aversion from lying speech I undertake.

The training in aversion from places of wanton use of wine, spirits and strong drink I undertake.

The training in aversion from the untimely meal I undertake.

The training in aversion from dancing, singing, music and seeing stage-plays I undertake.

The training in aversion from occasions for adorning, decorating by use of garlands, perfumes, unguents I undertake.

The training in aversion from high couches, large couches I undertake.

The training in aversion from accepting gold and silver (coins) I undertake.

III.

Atthi imasmiṇ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṇsaṇ
nahāru atthi atthimiñjā vakkaṇ hadayaṇ yakanāṇ kilomakaṇ
pihakaṇ papphāsaṇ antaṇ antagunaṇ udariyaṇ karisaṇ pittaṇ
semhaṇ pubbo lohitaṇ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo singhāṇikā
lasikā muttaṇ matthake matthalungaṇ.¹

DVATTIṆSĀKĀRAṆ.

IV.

Eka nāma kiṇ ? Sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā.
Dve nāma kiṇ ? Dve nāmañ ca rūpañ ca.
Tini nāma kiṇ ? Tini tisso vedanā.
Cattāri nāma kiṇ ? Cattāri ariyasaccāni.
Pañca nāma kiṇ ? Pañc' upādānakkhandhā.
Cha nāma kiṇ ? Cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni.
Satta nāma kiṇ ? Satta bojjhangā.
Attha nāma kiṇ ? Ariyo atthangiko maggo.
Nava nāma kiṇ ? Nava sattāvāsā.
Dasa nāma kiṇ ? Dasah' angehi samannāgato arahā ti
vuccati.

KUMĀRAPAÑHAṆ.

V.

Evam me suttaṇ:

Ekaṇ samayaṇ Bhagavā Sāvattiyaṇ viharati Jeta-
vane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Atha kho aññatarā
devatā abhikkantāya rattiyaṇ abhikkantavannaṇ kevala-
kappaṇ Jetavanaṇ obhāsetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upa-
saṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṇ abhivādetvā
ekamantaṇ atthāsi. Ekamantaṇ tthitā kho sā devatā
Bhagavantaṇ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi:

¹ See Index II.

III. THE THIRTY-TWOFOLD FORMATION.

There is in this body hair (of head), hair (of body), nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, intestines, lower intestines, stomach, fæces, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, spittle, mucus, synovium, urine, brain in head.

IV. QUESTIONS FOR YOUNG GENTLEMEN.

- 'The one'—what? All beings are persisters by food.
- 'The two'—what? Both name and visible (complex).
- 'The three'—what? Three (ways of) knowing.
- 'The four'—what? Four worthy true-things.
- 'The five'—what? Five grasping-heaps.
- 'The six'—what? Six spheres in the self.
- 'The seven'—what? Seven limbs of enlightenment.
- 'The eight'—what? The worthy eightfold Way.
- 'The nine'—what? The nine abodes of beings.
- 'The ten'—what? The man whose are ten parts is called Worthy.

V. THE SAYING ON LUCK.¹

At one time the Bhagavā was staying at Sāvattthī, in the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park. Now a certain devatā of surpassing beauty, as the night was passing, came, lighting up the whole of Jeta Grove, to the Bhagavā, and rendering homage stood at his side. So standing the devatā addressed the Bhagavā in verses:

¹ See Introduction, pp. lxi f.

Bahū devā manussā ca mangalāni acintayun
ākaṇkhamānā sotthānaṇ, brūhi mangalam uttamaṇ. 1.

Asevanā ca bālānaṇ paṇḍitānaṇ ca sevanā
pūjā ca pūjaneyyānaṇ, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 2.

Patirūpadesavāso ca pubbe ca katapuññatā
attasammāpanidhi ca, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 3.

Bāhusaccaṇ ca sippaṇ ca vinayo ca susikkhito
subhāsītā ca yā vācā, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 4.

Mātāpituupatthānaṇ puttadārassa sangaho
anākulā ca kammantā, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 5.

Dānaṇ ca dhammacariyā ca ñātakānaṇ ca sangaho
anavajjāni kammāni, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 6.

Ārati viratī pāpā majjapānā ca saññaṇ
appamādo ca dhammesu, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 7.

Gāravo ca nivāto ca santuṭṭhī ca kataññutā
kālena dhammasavanaṇ, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 8.

Khantī ca sovacassatā samanānaṇ ca dassanaṇ
kālena dhammasākacchā, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 9.

Tapo ca brahmacariyaṇ ca ariyasaccāna dassanaṇ
nibbānasacchikiriyaṇ ca, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 10.

Phuṭṭhassa lokadhammehi cittaṇ yassa na kampati
asokaṇ virajaṇ khemaṇ, etam mangalam uttamaṇ. 11.

Etādisāni katvāna sabbattha-m-aparājītā
sabbattha sotthiṇ gacchanti, taṇ tesaṇ mangalam
uttamaṇ. 12.

Many the devas and men who have pondered on lucky things longing (the while) for salvation:—tell (us) the luck supreme.

Not holding fools in worth, but holding the wise in worth, and honouring those to be honoured: this (is) the luck supreme.

Dwelling in region suitable and merit wrought in the past and right aiming at the (divine, the highest) self¹: this is the luck supreme.

Much learning and (skill in) craft and good training in discipline, and the well uttered sound of voice: this is the luck supreme.

Service to mother and father, the cherishing of wife and child,

and work where is no crowd: this is the luck supreme.

Giving, and walking by dharma, and cherishing of kin, actions wherein no blame lies: this is the luck supreme.

Aversion from disgust and withholding from evil and strong drink,

and zest in things-to-be-done: this is the luck supreme.

Reverence and meekness, content and gratitude, and timely listening to dharma: this is the luck supreme.

Patience and kindly speech and visiting holy men and timely dharma-converse: this is the luck supreme.

Ardour and the God-life, vision of the worthy true, and realizing of the wane (in what is worse): this is the luck supreme.

The mind of one who, hit by worldly things, vibrates not, griefless, dustless, safe: this is the luck supreme.

Things of this kind performing everywhere unconquered everywhere safely they go: this is the luck supreme.

¹ The Comy. passes over this compound without comment!

VI.

- Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatāni
 bhum māni vā yāni va antalikkhe,
 sabbe va bhūtā sumanā bhavantu
 atho pi sakkacca sunantu bhāsitaṇ. 1.
- Tasmā hi bhūtā nisāmetha sabbe
 mettaṇ karotha mānusiya pajāya,
 divā ca ratto ca haranti ye baliṇ,
 tasmā hi ne rakkhatha appamattā. 2.
- Yaṇ kiñci vittaṇ idha vā huraṇ vā
 saggesu vā yaṇ ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ
 na no samaṇ atthi Tathāgatena,—
 idam pi Buddhe ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 3.
- Khayaṇ virāgaṇ amataṇ paṇitaṇ
 yad ajjhagā Sakyamuni samāhito,
 na tena dhammena sam' atthi kiñci,—
 idam pi Dhamme ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 4.
- Yam buddhasettho parivaṇṇayī suciṇ
 samādhim ānantarikaṇ ñam āhu,
 samādhinā tena samo na vijjati,—
 idam pi Dhamme ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 5.
- Ye puggalā attha satam pasatthā,
 cattāri etāni yugāni honti,
 te dakkhiṇeyyā Sugatassa sāvakā,
 etesu dinnāni mahapphalāni,—
 idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 6.
- Ye suppayuttā manasā dāhena
 nikkāmino Gotamasāsanamhi,
 te pattipattā amataṇ vigayha
 laddhā mudhā nibbutiṇ bhuñjamānā,—
 idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 7.
- Yath' indakhīlo paṭhaviṇ sito siyā
 catubbhi vātehi asampakampiyo,
 tathūpamaṇ sappurisaṇ vadāmi,
 yo ariyasaccāni avecca passati,—
 idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇ paṇitaṇ,
 etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 8.

VI. THE SAYING ON THE JEWELS.

Those beings who are here assembled,
 both they of earth and they in air,
 let beings all be well-disposed
 and careful list to what is said.

Do ye give heed then, beings all:
 work amity on human kind,
 who day and night bring offering;
 do ye then ward them zealously.

Whatever treasure here or yonder be,
 or in the lucky worlds be jewels fine,
 for us there 's none to match the Man-waygone.
 And this fine jewel in the Buddha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

Waning, dispassion, th' immortal, excellent,
 which, having reached, the Sakyan Sage ordained:
 nothing whatever doth that Dhamma match.

And this fine jewel in the Dhamma is:
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

That which the best of wise men praised, the pure,
 the rapt state of the unlimited, so is it called:
 with that rapt state no equal doth exist.

And this fine jewel in the Dhamma is:
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

The eight men praised by the good,
 these are the four pairs (in the Way);
 gift-worthy they, disciples of the Well-farer:
 to these, things-given are of mighty fruit.

And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

They who not sensuous are linked well
 with a strong mind in cult of Gotama,
 have won the win, into the immortal plunged,
 gotten the priceless, savouring the free.

And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

E'en as a pillar may be sunk in earth
 not to be shaken tho' the four winds blow:
 of such I say is he the very man,
 who throughly sees the worthy things of truth.
 And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

Ye ariyasaccāni vibhāvayanti¹
gambhīrapaññena sudesitāni,
kiñcāpi te honti bhusappamattā,
na te bhavaṇaṃ aṭṭhamaṇaṃ ādiyanti,—
idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 9.

Sahā v' assa dassanasampadāya
tayas su dhammā jahitā bhavanti:
sakkāyaditṭhi vicikicchitaṇi ca
silabbataṇaṃ vā pi yad atthi kiñci
catūh' apāyehi ca vippamutto
cha cābhiññānāni abhabbo kātuṇaṃ,—
idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 10

Kiñcāpi so kammaṇaṃ karoti pāpakaṇaṃ
kāyena vācā uda cetasā vā,
abhabbo so tassa paṭicchādāya,
abhabbatā ditṭhapadassa vuttā,—
idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 11.

Vanappagumbe yathā phussitagge
gimhāna māse pathamasmiṇaṃ gimhe,
tathūpamaṇaṃ dhammavaraṇaṃ adesayi
nibbānagāmiṇaṃ paramaṇṇhitāya,—
idam pi Buddhhe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 12.

Varo varaññū varado varāharo
anuttaro dhammavaraṇaṃ adesayi,—
idam pi Buddhhe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 13.

'Khīnaṇaṃ purāṇaṇaṃ, navaṇaṃ n' atthisam-bhavaṇaṃ
virattacittā āyatike bhavasmiṇaṃ
te khīnabījā avirūlhihandā
nibbanti dhīrā yathāyama padīpo,—
idam pi Sanghe ratanaṇaṃ paṇītaṇaṃ,
etena saccena suvatthi hotu. 14.

Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatāni
bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe,
tathāgataṇaṃ devamanussapūjitaṇaṃ
Buddhaṇaṃ namassāma, suvatthi hotu. 15.

• Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatāni
bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe,
tathāgataṇaṃ devamanussapūjitaṇaṃ
Dhammaṇaṃ namassāma, suvatthi hotu. 16.

¹ In the later meaning. Cf. Dh. verse 282, and Index II s.v.

They who make worthy truths more-to-become,
 (true things) well taught by man of wisdom deep,
 e'en though (in life) preoccupied they be,
 they lay no hold upon the eighth rebirth.¹
 And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

For him with the attainment of insight
 three things become matters he's put away:
 the 'very-body'-view and doubt also,
 morals and duties whatsoe'er they be:
 well freed is he from (fate of) downfalls four,
 not able he to sin i' the six great crimes.
 And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

Although he work a deed that evil is,
 (a deed) in body or in word or thought,
 incapable is he of hiding that;
 uttered is incapacity of man-who-sees.²
 And this fine jewel in the Sangha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

As treetops blossoming above the woodland jungle
 in the first summer in the summer tide,
 such is the Dhamma, Better (word), he taught,
 that going to the wane (of ill) for chiefest weal.
 And this fine jewel in the Buddha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

Man of the Better, who the Better knew, who gave the Better,
 who the Better brought,
 incomparable, he Dhamma, the Better, taught.
 And this fine jewel in the Buddha is;
 by this true thing let there well-being be !

Extinct the old, and new becoming is there not,
 (and) out-of-love the mind with future coming-to-be,
 they of the seed extinct, of want that groweth not,
 the men of worth go out as (goes) this burning lamp.

Those beings who are here assembled,
 both they of earth and they in air,
 to Man-thus-gone, honoured by devas and by men,
 to Buddha let us worship give; let there well-being be !
 Those beings who are here assembled,
 both they of earth and in the air,
 to Man-thus-gone, honoured by devas and by men,
 to Dhamma let us worship give; let there well-being be !

¹ See *Points of Controversy*, 267. Assurance of salvation meant liability to seven more rebirths at most. ² See Index II, n. 4.

Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatāni
 bhum māni vā yāni va antalikkhe,
 tathāgataṃ devamanussapūjitaṃ
 Sanghaṃ namassāma, suvatthi hotu.

17.

RATANASUTTAN NIṬṬHITAṆ.

VII.

- Tiro-kuddesu tiṭṭhanti sandhisinghātakesu ca
 dvārabāhāsu tiṭṭhanti āgantvāna sakaṃ ghaṇaṃ, 1.
- pahūte annapānamhi khajjabhojje upaṭṭhite
 na tesāṃ koci sarati sattānaṃ kammaṃ paccayā. 2.
- Evaṃ dadanti nātīnaṃ ye honti anukampakā
 suciṇṇaṃ paṇītaṃ kālena kappiyaṃ pānabhōjanaṃ:
 idaṃ vo nātīnaṃ hotu, sukhitā hontu nātayo. 3.
- Te ca tattha samāgantvā nātīpetā samāgatā 4.
- pahūte annapānamhi sakkaccaṃ anumodare:
 ciraṃ jīvantu no nātī, yesaṃ hetu labhāmase;
 amhākaṃ ca katā pūjā dāyakā ca anipphalā. 5.
- Na hi tattha kasī atthi, gorakkh' ettha na vijjati, 6.
- vaṇijjā tādisī n' atthi hiraṇṇeṇa kayakkayaṃ,
 ito dinnena yāpenti petā kālagatā tahiṃ. 7.
- Unname udakaṃ vaṭṭaṃ yathā ninnāṃ pavattati,
 evaṃ eva ito dinnāṃ petānaṃ upakappati. 8.
- Yathā vārivahā pūrā paripūrenti sāgaraṃ,
 evaṃ eva ito dinnāṃ petānaṃ upakappati. 9.
- Adāsi me, akāsi me, nātīmīdā sakhā ca me
 petānaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ dajjā pubbe katam anussaraṃ. 10.

Those beings who are here assembled,
 both they of earth and in the air,
 to Man-thus-gone, honoured by devas and by men,
 to Sangha let us worship give; let there well-being be !

VII. THE SAYING ON OVER THE WALLS.

Over the walls they stand, beside the windows, in the
 squares,
 they stand beside the doorposts, each one coming to his
 home.

Whereas abundant food and drink, hard, soft, provided is,
 not one among those beings heedful was, because of deeds
 (ill)-done.

Thus they who are compassionate to kinsfolk give
 pure, fine, fit food and drink from time to time.

Let this be yours for our kinsfolk; may the kinsfolk be
 well !

And they who there together meeting, assembled
 kindred-fathers,

for the abundant food and drink thoroughly give thanks :—
 Long may our kindred live, by whom we (here) acquire !
 To us (is) honour done and givers will not lack fruit.

Verily there no ploughing is, nor keeping kine doth here
 exist,
 nor merchandise such (as is yours), with coin to buy and
 sell.

By what is given here Fathers, their hour come, there
 subsist.

As water raining on high flows down below,
 e'en so what's given here the Fathers serves.

As the full running streams keep ocean full,
 e'en so what's given here the Fathers serves.

'He gave to me, he wrought for me, even my kin, my
 comrades and my friends':—
 remembering what erst was done, to Fathers should
 offerings be made.

Na hi runṇaṇ vā soko vā yā c' aññā paridevanā,

na taṇ petānaṇ atthāya evaṇ tiṭṭhanti ñātayo. 11.
Ayañ ca kho dakkhiṇā dinnā sanghamhi suppatitṭhitā
digharattaṇ hitāy' aṣṣa ṭhānaso upakappati. 12.

So ñātidhammo ca ayaṇ nidassito,
petānaṇ pūjā ca katā ulārā,
balañ ca bhikkhūnam anuppadinnaṇ,
tumhehi puññaṇ pasutaṇ anappakaṇ. 13.

TIROKUDDASUTTAN NIṬṬHITAṆ.

VIII.

Nidhiṇ nidheti puriso gambhīre odakantike:
atthe kicce samuppanne atthāya me bhavissati 1.

rājato vā duruttassa corato pīlitaṣṣa vā,
inassa vā pamokkhāya, dubbhikkhe āpadāsu vā; 2.
etadatthāya lokasmiṇ nidhi nāma nidhīyate.
Tāva-sunihito santo gambhīre odakantike 3.
na sabbo sabbadā eva tassa taṇ upakappati:
nidhī vā ṭhānā cavati, saññā vāssa vimuyhati, 4.

nāgā vā apanāmenti yakkhā vā pi haranti naṇ
appiyā vā pi dāyādā uddharanti apassato.
yadā puññakkhayaṇ hoti, sabbam etaṇ vinassati. 5.
Yassa dānena sīlena saṇyamena damena ca

nidhī sunihito hoti itthiyā purisassa vā 6.
cetiyaṇ va sanghe vā puggale atithīsu vā

mātari pitari vā pi atho jeṭṭhamhi bhātari, 7.
eso nidhi sunihito ajeyyo anugāmiko,

pahāya gamanīyesu etaṇ ādāya gacchati 8.

But that kinsfolk (should) stand weeping and grieving
and elsewhere
lamenting, this for the Fathers naught avails.
Now this offering given, well established in the Sangha
serves for its welfare on the spot and for long time to
come.

This kinsfolk-duty, this that is pointed out
is an exalted honour to the Fathers paid,
and is a strength produced for monks.
For you no little merit is begot.

VIII. THE SAYING ON THE HOARDED BIT.

A hoard the man hoards in deep water-bottom:—
'when need for action has arisen, 'twill be for my
need,'

whether for king's hard speech, or for thief's plundering,
or for release from debt, or for hard times in scarcity,
for such need 'tis what world counts hoard is hoarded.
The while being well-hoarded in deep water-bottom,
not any of it is at any time of use to him;
either the hoard falls from the place away, or sense of
it grows dim,
or Nāgas withdraw it, or Yakkhas fetch it away,
or foes too, or his heirs lift it when he sees not.
When merit is exhausted, all of it is destroyed.
For anyone by giving, morals, (self)-control and train-
ing
a hoard well-hoarded is, be it by woman or by man;
and whether it be in the shrine, the Order, or a man, or
guests,
in mother, or in father, yea, or in eldest brother,
this is the hoard well-hoarded, unbeatable, that goes
along (with him);
casting away things that might go, but laying hold of this
he goes,

- asādhāraṇam aññesaṇ acorāharaṇo nidhi;
 kayirātha dhīro puññāni, yo nidhi anugāmiko. 9.
- Esa devamanussānaṇ sabbakāmadado nidhi,
 yaṇ yad evābhipatthenti, sabbam etena labbhati: 10.
- suvannatā sussaratā susaṇṭhānasurūpatā
 ādhipāccaparivāro, sabbam etena labbhati, 11.
 padesarajjaṇ issariyaṇ cakkavattisukham piyaṇ
- devarajjam pi dibbesu, sabbam etena labbhati, 12.
- mānuskā ca sampatti devaloke ca yā rati
 yā ca nibbānasampatti, sabbam etena labbhati, 13.
- mittasampadam āgama yoniso ve payuñjato
 vijjā vimutti vasībhāvo, sabbam etena labbhati, 14.
- paṭisambhidā vimokkhā ca yā ca sāvakapāramī
 paccekabodhi buddhabhūmi, sabbam etena labbhati; 15.
- evaṇ mahatthikā esā yadidaṇ puññasampadā,
 tasmā dhīrā pasaṇsanti paṇḍitā katapuññataṇ. 16.

NIDHIKAṆḌASUTTAN NITṬHITAṆ.

IX.

- Karaṇīyam atthakusalena
 yaṇ taṇ santaṇ padaṇ abhisamecca
 sakko ujū ca sūjū ca
 suvaco c' assa mudu anati mānī 1.
 santussako ca subharo ca
 appakicco ca sallahukavutti

hoard not in common held with other men, not loot of thief.

Merit let man of more-worth work, the hoard that goes (with him) along.

This hoard to devas and to men the giver is of all they want,

whatever things they most desire, by this is everything acquired;

comeliness, eloquence, grace, shapeliness,

dominion and array: by this is everything acquired;

rule over land, lordship, bliss of the rolling Wheel, things dear,

and among devas deva-rule: by this is everything acquired;

success on earth and pleasure in the deva-world;

and in the Waning to succeed: by this is everything acquired.

Yea, for the utterly devoted man, through friendship won,

wisdom, deliverance, (self)-mastery: by this is everything acquired;

analysis and liberty, and acme of discipleship:

Paccheka-wisdom, plane of Buddha(-hood): by this is everything acquired.

Of such great weal is this, of merit the accomplishment;

therefore do men inspired, wise men praise status of merit wrought.

IX. THE SAYING ON AMITY.

Meet 'tis that one skilled in his weal should do,

who hath gone up on to the holy plane:—

(He should be) able, straight, yea, very straight,

of worthy speech should be, gentle, without conceit, content, bearing his burden well,

few cares be his, buoyant his gait,

- santindriyo ca nipako ca
 appagabbho kulesu ananugiddho, 2.
 na ca khuddaṇ samācare kiñci
 yena viññū pare upavadeyyuṇ.
 Sukhino vā khemino hontu
 sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhittā: 3.
 ye keci pānabhūt' atthi
 tasā vā thāvarā vā anavasesā
 dighā vā ye mahantā vā
 majjhimā rassakā anukathulā, 4.
 ditṭhā vā ye vā additṭhā
 ye ca dūre vasanti avidūre,
 bhūtā vā sambhavesī vā;
 sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhittā. 5.
 Na paro paraṇ nikubbetha
 nātimaññetha katthaci naṇ kañci,
 vyārosanā paṭighasaññā
 nāññamaññassa dukkham iccheyya. 6.
 Mātā yathā niyaṇ puttaṇ
 āyusā ekaputtam anurakkhe,
 evam pi sabbabhūtesu
 mānasam bhāvaye aparimāṇaṇ. 7.

holy his faculties, and (himself) discreet,
 not arrogant, nor in the houses¹ showing greed.
 Naught that is mean let him perform,
 whence other men and wise might him upbraid.
 Well may all creatures² be and safe,
 becoming they-for-whom-the-self-is-well !
 Whatever living things there be,
 feeble or strong, with none left out,
 or long, or they that mighty be,
 mean-sized, or short, minute, or large,
 or seen, or such as are not seen,
 dwell they afar, or dwell they near,
 who've come to birth, or seek to come to be:—
 may all beings become they-for-whom-the-self-is-well !
 Let none bring low another, nor judge him
 too highly anywhere in anything;³
 through enmity, through thought resentful
 let him not wish woe to another man.
 As mother her own child lifelong,
 her only child, would warding be,
 so let him also make become in creatures all
 the mind immeasurable.

¹ Literally 'families,' which would, in English, have been ambiguous. In the *Piṭakas* this or similar phrases refer to the right demeanour of a mendicant *samāṇa*, or monk. In the case of a rapacious lay-neighbour, I find the very different phrase *aññadatthuharo*, carrying off any-and-everything, used in *Sigālovāda-suttanta* (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii, p. 185).

² 'All creatures' is literally 'breathers-creatures,' or, as the Comy. offers, 'breathing creatures.' 'Creatures' again is literally 'the have-becomes' (*bhūtā-ni*). In the next line we have the same verb, 'become' (*bhavanti*), but in the following line 'be' (*atthi*). In spite of the deep significance as an expression of new thought that attaches to 'become,' as distinct from 'be,' in religious teaching at and preceding the birth of Sakya, there is of course no question that the two verbs were closely allied in usage (as here) and in form, the future tense being in both identical in form and in meaning. Since here, in wishes of goodwill, the process, as such, is not stressed—the being, that is, as only to be realized in a becoming—it is possible that metre alone may have decided which verb should be used.

³ My translation differs here from that of C. and S., but differs in being a quite literal rendering, and in presenting the antithesis which is so much affected by Pali compilers in general, and in this respect in particular.

Mettañ ca sabbalokasmiṃ
 mānasam bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ
 uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyaṃ ca
 asambādhaṃ averaṃ asapattaṃ. 8.

Tiṭṭhaṃ caraṃ nisinno vā
 sayāno vā yāvat' assa vigatamiddho,
 etaṃ satiṃ adhiṭṭheyya;
 Brahman etaṃ vihāraṃ idha-m-āhu. 9.

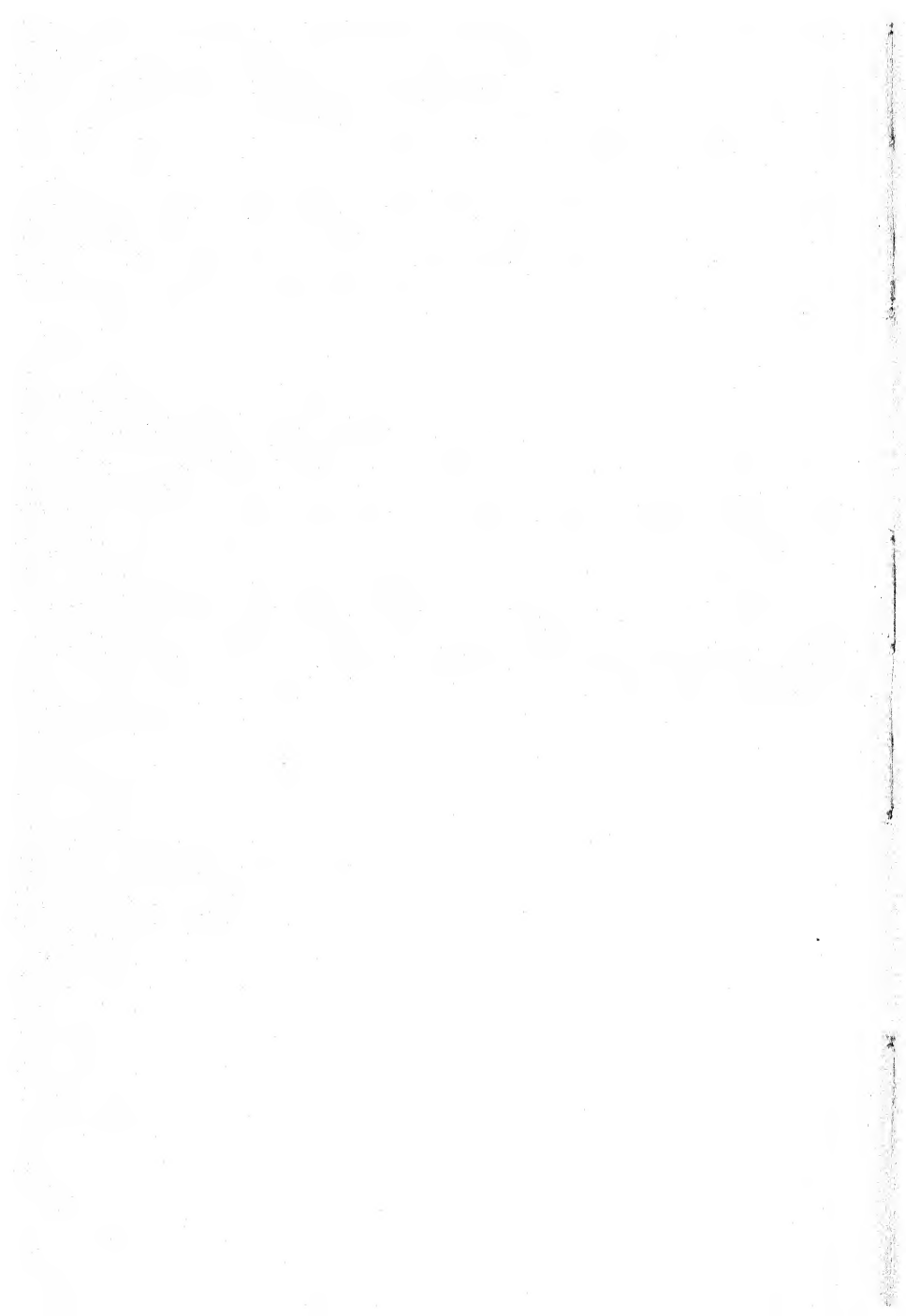
Diṭṭhiṃ ca anupagamma
 silavā dassanena sampanno
 kāmesu vineyya gedhaṃ
 na hi jātu gabbhaseyyaṃ puna-r-eti. 10.

METTASUTTANĀ NITṬHITAṆ.

KHUDDAKAPĀṬHAPPAKARAṆANĀ NITṬHITAṆ.

Ay, amity for all the world, even
the mind immeasurable let him make become,
upwards and downwards and across,
unbarriered, without anger, without foes.
Whether he stand, walk, sit, or lie,
till drowsiness be gone from him,
let him this inner wareness keep:
God have they here this biding called.

In that to (false) opinion he's not gone,
is moral and with insight blessed,
he should suppress the greed of sense-desires,
he verily no more to matrix goes.



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NOTES

(1) *Matthalunga*, p. 142, is not connected, it would seem, with *matthaka*, head, but means curds (*mastulunga*), to which the colour of the brain is likened (Comy.).

(2) *Vibhāvayanti*. Comy. 'make manifest having dispersed darkness of corruptions obscuring truth by wisdom's luminance.' Cf. Dhammapada, verse 282, for the older meaning of not-becoming. Comy. *vibhavāya ca* . . . *avaḍḍhiyā ca* (by not-growth).

(3) *Sīla-bbataṇ* (-*vataṇ*), p. 148: 'Morals and duties' mean the concerns of life in the world abjured by the monk.

(4) Incapable, incapacity (*abhabbo*, *abhabbatā*): lit. 'not-to-become,' 'not-to-become-ness.' The early Sakyan was called 'man-who-is-to-become'—'is-bound-to-become.' Becoming, as decried below, is misidentified with *physical* rebirth.

TITLES OF WORKS ABBREVIATED IN FOOTNOTES

A.	Anguttara-Nikāya.
Br̥	Burmese (printed) ed., Rangoon.
Br̥h.	Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
C.	Commentary on Dhammapada.
Chān.	Chāndogya Upanishad.
C ⁿ	Commentary on Dhammapada : H. C. Norman's readings.
Divyā.	Divyāvadāna.
F.	Fausböll.
Itv...	Itivuttaka.
Jāt.	Jātaka.
KS...	Kindred Sayings (trs. Saṅyutta-Nikāya).
KV.	Kathāvatthu I., for 6, 64.
M.	Majjhima-Nikāya.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Mil...	Milindapañha.
Mvst.	Mahāvastu.
P.Kh. (<i>once as Kh.P.</i>)	Prakrit Kharoṣṭhi fragments.
Ps.	Paṭisambhidā-magga.
S.	Saṅyutta-Nikāya.
S ^c S ^d	Sinhalese edns. Dhammapada.
Sn.	Sutta-Nipāta.
Śvet.	Śvetāsvatara Upanishad.
Tait.	Taittirīya Upanishad.
Tha., Thī.	Thera-therī-gāthā.
Ud...	Udāna.
Vin.	Vinaya-Pitaka.

